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# East Europe Report

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3 DECEMBER 1986

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ECONOMY

POLAND

BRIEFS

**NEW CHINESE-POLISH SHIP**--Warsaw, Oct 24: A white-red flag was hoisted on the MS Pokoj, a new ship of the Chinese-Polish Chipolbrok Shipping Company, in the Gdynia harbour today. The MS Pokoj is the word [as printed] ship in the Chipolbrok fleet which numbers about 350 thousand dwt [deadweight tons]. This year Chipolbrok celebrated the 35th anniversary of its activity, which started in January, 1951, following an agreement between the governments of Poland and People's China. During 35 years of its existence the Chipolbrok ships carried over 22,400,000 tonnes of cargo. Seventy percent of that total consisted of cargo shipped for Poland or China. Since 1980, the Polish-Chinese company has maintained a regular line between China and the main ports of Western Europe and Scandinavia. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2004 GMT 24 Oct 86 LD] /8309

**COOPERATION WITH MONGOLIA**--J. Wozniak, minister of materials and fuels management, has met with D. Gotob, chairman of Mongolia's State Committee for Material and Technical Supply. They discussed the experiences of both countries in the material and technical supply field and thrift and rationalization measures that have been undertaken in the utilization of material supplies. A program for cooperation between the two ministries covering the years 1987-88 was signed during the meeting. The program gives concrete form to the decisions made during W. Jaruzelski's recent visit to Mongolia. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 86 p 2 AU] /8309

**ALBANIAN PROTOCOL SIGNED**--The Ministry of Foreign Trade reports that a Polish-Albanian trade and payments protocol for 1987 has been signed in Tirana. The protocol envisages a further increase in trade, that is, by 28 percent compared with the protocol for 1986. The main imports from Albania will be asphalt, chromium ore, copper cable and wiring, tobacco, citrus fruits, grapes and cotton and leather products produced by light industry. Poland's exports to Albania will include electronical equipment, mining machinery and appliances; delivery and passenger vehicles, coking coal, and technological production line systems for the manufacture of polyethylene sheeting and confectionaries and the use of scrap materials. The protocol was signed by Foreign Trade Ministry Deputy Ministers Helmut Floeth and Marko Xega. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 86 p 5 AU] /8309

**COMPUTER USE GROWING**--New computer clubs are shooting up like mushrooms in Szczecin Voivodship. Thanks to the assistance of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth voivodship board, the clubs have been opened in Gryfice and Chojno. They are equipped with Spectrum and Atari computers. Also, work enterprises are helping young enthusiasts of computer science. Microcomputer workshops opened recently in the POLMO motor mechanism works, and in Gryfia repair shipyard in Szczecin. [Text] [Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 22 Oct 86] /8309

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, OCTOBER 1986

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 11 Sep 86)  
pp 866, 960

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and Secretary of the SED Central Committee; pp 876-883. A full translation of this article is published under the heading, "Economic Development Procedures Outlined," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Management, Planning and Effective Accounting in the GDR National Economy

The 11th party congress has issued the task to continue and fashion the socialist production relations so that they will encourage dynamic productive forces development. Decisive for it--together with combine development-- is the further perfection of management, planning and effective accounting. The new measures aiming at it are explained, which serve to strengthen central management and planning as well as to elevate the combines' own economic responsibility.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member of the SED Central Committee, rector of the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and member of the EINHEIT editorial board; pp 884-889]

[Text] Productive Forces and Production Relations in the Shaping of Developed Socialism in Our Republic

About the penetrating changes in all sectors of our society. What are the effects of the turn made to intensive expanded reproduction on the dialectic between the productive forces and production relations? How has our party, following the insights of Marxism-Leninism, managed to use that dialectic for providing economic and social relations with human dignity?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, member of the SED Central Committee, director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, chairman of the Economic Science Research Council, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences, and member of the EINHEIT editorial board; pp 890-896. A full translation of this article is published under the heading, "Industrial Implementation of Science, Technology Examined," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Our Socialist Way to Mastery of the Scientific-Technical Revolution

Through comprehensive production intensification and while steadily improving working and living conditions, we managed to take into account the dynamics of the productive forces in crucial sectors. What new criteria did the 11th party congress set down with a view to the year 2000--especially with regard to the key technologies? How must the production relations be further fashioned, mainly through consolidating the combines and perfecting management, planning and effective accounting, that they will more effectively still stimulate productive forces development?

[Summary of article by Dr Albrecht Baumann, department chief at the SED Central Committee's Institute for Socialist Economic Management and Social Development in Agriculture; and Prof Dr Harry Reimann, director of the same institute; pp 897-902]

[Text] The Class of the Cooperative Farmers and Its Safe Prospects

The share of the cooperative farmers in implementing the united economic and social policies is significant. What influence does the alliance between the workers and farmers have on the thinking and actions in both classes? What guidelines did the 11th party congress issue for the further course of the class of the cooperative farmers in our socialist society and for the development of the agricultural productive forces?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Eberhard Prager, director of the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism at the SED Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences; pp 903-910. A full translation of this article is published under the heading, "Effects of Computer Programs on Industry Discussed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Software and Changes in the Nature of Work

Software production calls for increasingly more attention so that it is rational, that demands are met, and the efficient use of software is marked by the advantages of socialism. What new steps in productive forces development make software possible and how are they to be taken? These questions are answered all the way from "What specific creative abilities are demanded? to "How is software evaluated?"

Summary of article by Prof Dr Karlheinz Jentsch, general director of the VEB Wilhelm Pieck Mansfeld Combine; pp 911-916]

[Text] Working Class--The Commissioner and Agent of Socialist Art

The combines in cooperation with the territories bear a great responsibility for cultured working and living conditions and a rich cultural life to develop the working people's creativeness. Longtime management experiences in the VEB Mansfeld Combine confirm: Industrial cultural efforts in this all-inclusive sense must more and more also begin to tap for it the personality-shaping potentials of the arts. Suggestions are made for how through partnership relations between work collectives and artists one can promote the creation of socialist-realist works of art and the appropriation of the arts by the members of the combine.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gregor Schirmer, deputy department chief in the SED Central Committee; pp 917-921]

[Text] Top Achievements Call for Top Personnel

Pursuant to the title of the article, as pronounced during the 11th party congress, it is being shown what top performance is based on and what distinguishes top personnel in science and R&D and what influence they exercise on the demand and performance levels in their collectives. Why does a resolute focus on forming top personnel has nothing in common with the bourgeois theory on elites? What should one watch especially in bringing up top personnel, and how are top achievements to be stimulated effectively?

[Summary of article by Dr Lothar Oppermann, SED Central Committee department chief; and Rudolf Olschlaegel, graduate social scientists, SED Central Committee deputy department chief; pp 922-927

[Text] School Policy--An Integral Part of Overall Policy

Proceeding from the 11th SED Congress task of always paying attention to the totality of requirements in social development when cultural and education consequences are worked out, this article deals with the resulting profiling of the content and level of general education. In conformity with the party program demands, the issues of the education of youth are discussed in the spirit of our communist ideals. The continuity and dynamics of school policy strategy are placed in the center of the presentation.



[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerhard Riege, section chief in the department of political science and jurisprudence at the Friedrich Schiller University, Jena; pp 928-933]

[Text] From the Former Vassal to the Sovereign Shaper of His Own Destiny

About the nature of the relations between the state and its citizens in our socialist society. What are the tasks derived from fully tapping these historically novel relations as impulses for civic action? What opportunities are there, especially through making use of the law on the local people's representations, to promote a committed involvement of all in planning, working, and governing?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Krusch, deputy department chief at the SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism; pp 934-939]

[Text] Survey on and Tasks for Regional Research in Party History

How does regional party history contribute to perfecting our image of history and deepening the socialist consciousness of history, and how does it promote social energy and certitude about the future? What has been accomplished, what must be continued, and what demands do we have to place on ourselves to guarantee another upsurge in regional party history research and propaganda?

5885

CAO: 2300/57

POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

REASON, REALISM IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS LAUDED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 11 Sep 86)  
pp 869-872

[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Richter, of the Marxism-Leninism Department at the Humboldt University in East Berlin: "'When Reason Sleeps. Monsters Are Born'"]

[Text] Civilization, evolved through millenia, transmits abundant art and literature testimonials which were able to lend mankind's striving for a worthwhile existence impulses that transcended their times. That is borne out by outstanding works of art from antiquity and the Enlightenment, and no less of our own century, attesting to the search for shaping a peaceful existence, to the effort in approaching societal concerns with reason, which can inspire mankind's reflections about the future today. An example are the "Caprichos" (Caprices) by Goya, created still under the impact of the bourgeois revolution in France, that famous set of etchings by which he came out by satiric means, rigorously, bitterly, and biting, against feudal reaction and violence. In them we encounter tormenting monsters and vultures, fiends from a world of the day before yesterday. A landmark and warning sign of that time. On one of those pages, of 1797, we find the inscription, "The sleep of reason produces monsters." It announces the faith of the young rising bourgeoisie in the power of reason and sounds the alert for that a reason asleep lets genuine monsters take over.

In that historic era in which the creation of the great Spanish painter is rooted as one of many aspirations of the Enlightenment anything that contradicted and antagonized reason was subjected to pitiless criticism. Everything had to justify its being before the "tribunal of reason" or renounce its existence. If the bourgeoisie, with its proclamation to be paving the way for reason in society, was able to release immense social impulses in its anti-feudal, bourgeois revolution, it was because then, by and large, "it could claim that together with the struggle against the aristocracy it also represented the interests of the various working classes of the time." (Footnote 1) (Friedrich Engels, "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," "Werke" [Works] Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 190) It bestowed on reason the rank of a historic subject able and appointed to bring about the necessary social changes. Activity in its sense was pervaded by the ideas and aspirations of the moral perfectibility of the human race, the faith in the upward development of human society, and a far-reaching historic optimism.

Yet Goya's sketch gives us more than just a message about that. If it is picked up here today--nearly 200 years later--it is because now, when it has become a matter of to be or not to be for humanity, a "sleep of reason" would be the last sleep for human civilization. Picking up Goya's warning under entirely different historic conditions means helping reason to break through in the struggle for peace and the prevention of nuclear self-destruction. We have to call a halt to the irrational in our days which still proves to be strong and gives birth to what is truly monstrous for civilization at a historically unprecedented dimension.

Looking at Goya's pictures from today's vantage point reminds of the ills and crimes of those social forces which, in contempt of the true vital interests of the peoples, seek to impose their search for imperial rule and are maintaining modes of thinking and action that for centuries insisted on the admissibility and permissibility of wars. We are reminded mainly of the insanity of the arms buildup and confrontational policy conducted by the most aggressive imperialist forces, of the pushing of the arms race that has produced on our planet mountains of arms with unimaginable destructive power. Not content with that, the protagonists of this mad course do not shy from taking that arms race even into space.

That adds greatly to the threat that burdens mankind. For the first time in its history, that has recorded thus far nearly 15,000 wars with immeasurable suffering and sacrifices, human civilization is in danger to be pressed into the abyss of a totally destructive nuclear inferno which would amount to the end of all human history. The world has reached a turning point today. The question of the future destiny of humanity poses itself acutely. "The new situation calls for new thinking and a new responsible approach to those problems that decide over war or peace." (Footnote 2) (Comrade Erich Honecker, "Our Domestic and Foreign Policy Serves Socialism and Peace," speech of the Second SED Central Committee plenum, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 6)

That is a precept of political action today as today the antithesis to peace is not just war, but the total catastrophe, the extinction of human civilization. It is high time "to introduce in practice a departure from balancing on the edge of war, from the balance of dread, and move toward normal, civilized forms of relations between the states in both systems." (Footnote 3) (M. S. Gorbachev, "Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 17) With our century coming to the end, there is less than ever any reasonable alternative for peaceful coexistence.

The triumph of reason can only be the triumph of the ones that are reasonable. This credo, pronounced in Brecht's "Life of Galilei," not only means that reason never could prevail automatically, but was always born in often harsh and lengthy struggles--against insanity and antagonists of various hues, and despite the persecution and destruction of many proponents of progressive insights and ideas about nature and society. Who could fail to think--looking at Goya's set of pictures--of the stakes of the inquisition, the "communist trials," book burnings and and torture chambers of fascist barbarism, the "crusades against communism" and the like. But did they ultimately halt the course of history?



In the historic field of tension between reason and unreason, different class forces and class interests have always become articulate. We are of course mindful of the fact that the young rising bourgeoisie could ultimately be progressive only in one direction, contrary to feudalism, its institutions and ideology. The heroic illusions of that class as well as the highly contradictory results it brought forth, which by no means satisfied its call for reason, have been passed down to us. But we have also known since then that reason embodies the unity of thinking and volition, of realization and deeds, in which, even for Hegel, an ideal becomes truly reality only when it informs and controls human intentions, persuasions, and acts. Only through such unfolding of action, the activation of the subjective factor, the historic motion power of reason stands revealed.

It is the very same power of reason that must be fully unfolded today in the peace struggle as a vital task for all of civilization so as to awaken thus far unknown forces of mankind's will to self-preservation in view of the peril of nuclear war. Our optimism has its root in that in our era social conditions have arisen to help the forces of reason to win the struggle against the monster of nuclear war danger, for the "call for enforcing reason in the historic process, the theoretical and relentless spirit of its founders against social unreason, was taken up by the workers class and, in its struggle for its own liberation and that of all working people, placed on real ground." (Footnote 4) (Kurt Hager, "Our Humanistic Mission," EINHEIT, No 12, 1984, p 1088) It is among the social givens from which we proceed in the struggle for enforcing reason and realism in international relations, and on which our historic optimism relies, in particular, that in the struggle for the preservation of peace socialism's class interests are inseparably linked with all of mankind's very own interests. For that the triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution, which touched the sleep of the world, created the social conditions. With the birth and growth of socialism there arose and maintained itself that social force in the world arena that introduced a new epoch in the development of humanity in providing a true home for peace and human emancipation.

Today socialism--called reasonable by Brecht--embodies a strong political, economic, military, and ideological potential that in the peoples' struggle for preserving peace on our planet, as the common home for humanity, can release enormous social impulses. Since Lenin's Peace Decree, deeply committed to the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders, the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states has pointed to viable, reasonable, and realistic ways to rid mankind from the nightmare of nuclear destruction and attain new heights of its development. Aware of their responsibility for the destiny of civilization, the socialist states are acting and using every chance to work together with all those to whom there is less of a feasible alternative than ever for peace as mankind's supreme good. A worldwide coalition of reason and realism is forming for that with the goal for mankind to remain alive and, above and beyond all that separates, live and work together well.

In this sense the states in the socialist community are acting and so also the GDR, through strengthening socialism and a policy of outcome-oriented and businesslike dialogue and cooperation toward a recovery in the international situation and a return to detente. "We are and remain firmly convinced that

the peace forces will prove stronger than the war forces in this struggle which will extract still great efforts. World conscience must govern global development." (Footnote 5) (Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 10)

Goya's admonition, "the sleep of reason produces monsters," points beyond the age in which it was uttered. As many other works of art, this too inspires us and stimulates reflecting on the present age, so that in its own way it can reinforce our determination with energy to consolidate socialism and, hence, the peace. What depends on it ultimately is crucial for adding weight to humanity's potential of reason. Picking up Goya's message demands of the peace forces to remain always vigilant and active.

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POLITICS

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PEACE POLICY, POLITICAL SOLUTIONS EXAMINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 41 No 10, Oct 86 (signed to press 11 Sep 86)  
pp 940-943

[Article by Guenter Vormeyer, diplomate in Political Science, department head in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "On the New Approach to the Question of War or Peace"]

[Text] In the Central Committee report to the 11th SED Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker defined as a decisive task our party has to make its contribution through deeds and acts, to reducing the war danger.<sup>1</sup> Never before have through the arms race, cranked up by the most aggressive imperialist forces, arms of such destructive force been produced and stockpiled as today. A single U.S. MX ICBM has 3 times the destructive power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. In the spring of 1985 an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 nuclear warheads were stockpiled in the arsenals of the nuclear powers. With such a destructive potential one could conduct 6,000 wars like World War II, provided humanity were to survive even the first "strike exchange."<sup>2</sup> This state of affairs lends an entirely new dimension to the problem of safeguarding peace. It "calls for an active contribution from all states, calls for concerted action by all to whom a peaceful future for mankind is no hollow phrase but the most vital concern."<sup>3</sup>

A nuclear conflict would have no victors or vanquished. Human civilization would be doomed. The antithesis to peace no longer is--as it still was in the first half of our century--merely war, but total catastrophe, the extinction of human society. Such a situation, which pertains in the truest sense of the word to the survival of mankind, "calls for new thinking and a new, responsible approach to those problems on which war or peace depend."<sup>4</sup> It is necessary to have the "serious intention not to get stuck in the thought cliches of confrontation and a search for military superiority, but to approach things in a new way, in new forms and procedures in the relations among the various social systems, states, and regions."<sup>5</sup>

This new approach to the problems of war and peace above all implies the following considerations of principle:

--The nature of modern arms leaves not any state the hope that it could protect itself alone through military-technical means. Guaranteeing the states' security increasingly becomes a political task that can only be resolved through

political means. Without closing one's eyes to social, political, and ideological antagonisms, one must show circumspect conduct in international relations in settling controversies and conflicts of interests the political way.

--The states' security in the nuclear age depends on mutuality. There no longer exists security against one another, but only still with one another. All states must feel safe equally. The arms race unleashed by the most aggressive imperialist circles can as little be won as can a nuclear war itself, yet carrying on this race heightens the peril of a nuclear catastrophe. Hence, seeking military superiority in the end holds out political gains for no one.

--Thanks, mainly, to the achievements and sacrifices of the Soviet people, the Warsaw Pact states were able to establish and maintain an approximate military-strategic parity with NATO and thus greatly to confine the chances for the most aggressive imperialist circles to unleash nuclear war. Nor will the allied socialist states spare any efforts in the future to guarantee this parity. Yet since the current level of the balance of nuclear potentials in the opposing camps is disproportionately high, it for the time being provides "each side with the same insecurity," as Mikhail Gorbachev put at at the 27th CPSU Congress. "Yet only for the time being. Carrying on the nuclear arms race would inevitably increase this identical insecurity and could push it to a point where even the parity would stop acting as a factor of military-political reticence."<sup>6</sup> The arms race gives rise to more and more complicated weapons systems which threaten to elude human control. Modern war technology drastically cuts into the time available for political decisions. Already there is danger for a nuclear war to be triggered without human intent and action, through computer error. The military-strategic equilibrium can preserve its peace-stabilizing effect on the long run only if it is assured at an ever lower level rather than an increasingly higher one.

--More pressing than ever is the policy of businesslike dialogue to strengthen the forces of reason and realism and seek and find arms limitation and disarmament solutions. The fact that the forces of the military-industrial complex in the United States and the other NATO states that are so interested in the arms buildup are getting into an ever greater opposition to the true national interests of those peoples and that the resistance against the arms race ranges right into the ranks of the monopoly bourgeoisie provides new opportunities for the efforts of a worldwide coalition of reason and realism capturing the majority of the states and ever broader social forces in all countries.

--In our times the contest between the two social systems is tied in with the growing tendency toward the interdependence of the states in the world. This true dialectic in current developments not only requires but even creates the political, social, and material prerequisites for developing multiple constructive cooperation among the states. A web of political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and other relations has to be woven which, freed from all elements of discrimination and Diktat, will be aimed at the preservation of peace and, with it, serve an effective solution of such global problems as the preservation of the human environment, the search for new energy sources, the fight against economic backwardness and against famine, the exploration of space and of the world's oceans.



--Both German states bear a special responsibility for peace, for that never again will war, but always only peace, emanate from German soil. That already follows from the lessons of history and is placed in the proper light by the mere fact that the border between the two states runs along the sensitive dividing line between the largest groups of armed forces--the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Compared with other West European countries, in the neighboring FRG the highest concentration of atomic weapons is found, the smallest of which--the battle-field weapons--still can approximate the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb. In the FRG are deployed most of the U.S. atomic medium-range missiles that were brought to Western Europe, including all 108 Pershing II. The FRG also is the only West European country in which large volumes of U.S. poison gas are stored.

#### For the Recovery of the International Situation

In conformity with the requirements of the international situation and the responsibility the GDR bears as a cornerstone of peace and socialism in Europe, the SED at its 11th party congress corroborated this: Each, even the slightest chance must be sought and used to stop the trend toward constantly greater war danger and to turn it around into a permanent peace stabilization. The GDR will continue to dedicate itself, through a policy of businesslike dialogue and cooperation, to the recovery of the international situation and the return to detente.<sup>7</sup> The party congress in every respect endorsed the Soviet Union's initiative-rich approach to world political issues and its comprehensive program for freeing the world from all nuclear weapons by the year 2000 and for creating an all-inclusive international security system. These propositions, announced by Mikhail Gorbachev and decided at the 27th CPSU Congress, wholly meet our ideal of a world without wars, a world in which each people freely decides on its own way of development and lifestyle.

The 11th party congress decided on the priority goals and directions for international politics of the SED and GDR accordingly. First comes a "consistent effort for the activation and joint actions of all forces of peace, reason, and realism with the goal of averting nuclear war through effective arms limitation and disarmament steps, preventing the militarization of space, abolishing the nuclear weapons, and surmounting the confrontation through the cooperation among the states."<sup>8</sup> Our party and republic fully back the peace program as conferred and resolved on at the conference of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Commission in June 1986. This program is strategic in character and forms the basis and goal of the coordinated international conduct by the allied socialist states. Basic concerns of this peace strategy are: --completely ridding the world of all atomic weapons and other mass destruction weapons by the year 2000; --preventing the militarization of space; --gradual reduction of conventional armed forces and arms on a global and regional scale; and --creating an all-inclusive international security system that embraces the military and political as well as the economic and humanitarian fields.

The allied socialist states have, with their peace program, demonstrated their readiness to reduce each type of weapon, without exception, on the principle of equality and equal security and effective controls. On behalf of implementing

this program, they are also prepared for partial solutions. While moving toward that goal, the socialist states deliberately start with the demand for ending all nuclear tests. Taking care of that would be an important first step toward nuclear disarmament. Without atomic tests there would be no perfecting of existing and no creation of new types of nuclear weapons. At the same time, such a step can be taken rather easily because, in contrast to disarmament measures, no stockpiles are to be reduced and destroyed, complicated parameter comparisons are superfluous, and furthermore--not last through the consent of the USSR on installing U.S. monitoring devices in the Semipalatinsk Region--the ground is cut from under any pretext for turning the question of monitoring into an obstacle to getting an accord on a complete test ban. The unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, in force already for more than a year and meanwhile extended up to 1 January 1987, welcomed by the socialist states and in many other parts of the world as well, which is an act and not just a proposal, does indeed prove the seriousness and sincerity of the peace program by the Soviet Union and its allies, and of its policy of realism, peace, and cooperation.

In the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and by the side of the other countries in the socialist community of states, as well as on the basis of the jointly elaborated peace strategy, the GDR is making an active contribution to the preservation of peace through its orientation to the strengthening of socialism and its initiative-rich policy in pursuit of dialogue, and its efforts toward a worldwide coalition and realism. That is borne out particularly by the many meetings Erich Honecker and other top politicians in our country have had with authoritative representatives and politicians in capitalist states. That is also served by the GDR's constructive participation in international organizations and on international conferences. Together with the fraternal socialist states, it has submitted constructive proposals in UN General Assembly and special meetings on disarmament, at the Geneva disarmament conference, at the Vienna negotiations on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, at the CSCE meetings of Belgrade and Madrid, and at the Stockholm Conference on confidence and security-forming measures. During the 40th UN General Assembly alone it initiated four resolutions on various disarmament aspects, and it coauthored another 16 resolutions.

In great dedication the GDR devotes itself to the preparation of proposals for regional arms limitation that might pioneer global solutions. Evidence for that is the draft agreement prepared jointly by the SED and the SPD on a chemical weapons-free zone in Central Europe. The signing of such an accord, the draft for which the GDR and the CSSR have meanwhile presented to the FRG, the Benelux states, Denmark, Norway, Poland and Hungary, would pave the way to freeing Central Europe from a type of mass annihilation weapons and keeping it free from it which in terms of danger are not below the nuclear arms. Furthermore the GDR, responding to the well known Swedish initiative, has declared its willingness to make all its territory available as a nuclear battlefield weapons-free zone and is engaged in talks right now with the SPD on setting up a nuclear weapons-free corridor in Central Europe.

In all these initiatives our party lets itself be guided by the consideration that peace in the nuclear age is the supreme good of mankind and a nuclear

inferno, be it from space or from the earth, has to be avoided. This is how Comrade Erich Honecker put it at the second Central Committee session: "We are and will remain firmly convinced that in this struggle, which will exact still many efforts, the forces of peace will prove to be stronger than the forces of war."<sup>9</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "SED Central Committee Report to the 11th SED Congress," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 9.
2. Cf. Prof Dr Manfred Baron von Ardenne, "'Star Wars'--Death or Glory Squads That Ought to Be Stopped," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 April 1985, p 3.
3. "Our Domestic and Foreign Policy Serves Socialism and Peace--From the Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker--Second SED Central Committee Session," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 8.
4. Ibid., p 6.
5. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 10.
6. M. S. Gorbachev, "Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 96.
7. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., pp 10-11.
8. Ibid., p 20.
9. "Our Domestic and Foreign Policy . . .," op. cit., p 10.

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POLITICS

POLAND

PARTY DAILY COMMENTS ON OPPOSITIONISTS

LD281048 Warsaw PAP in English 1013 GMT 28 Oct 86

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 28--Commenting on the appeal to President Reagan for lifting economic sanctions imposed on Poland, signed by Adam Michnik, Lech Walesa, Zbigniew Bujak, Jerzy Milewski and some other figures from the so-called opposition and published by the weekly TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, TRYBUNA LUDU's Piotr Rządca says that the signatories to this appeal "realized that each month they get increasingly isolated in their views for facts prove that what they have in mind is a possibility to seize power rather than the good of the nation."

"Isolation is all the more dangerous to them as they are losing the remainder of their supporters, even those previously fascinated by their argumentation," the daily opined.

"This fact has been confirmed by the attitudes of a decisive part of citizens who lose their interest in declarations by the underground, failing to react to its calls for strikes and demonstrations," it added.

"And what about Michnik, Walesa, Bujak, Milewski and others changing their views?" Rządca wonders. "Have they indeed changed them, all of a sudden, after five years? What they only changed is their tactic, taking pains to try and regain any influence in society--hence this surprising volte-face. They have not changed their views, though, for they would lose all those subsidies, benefits, opportunities for highly paid interviews for the western press and radio.

"They would become nobody. And yet they are still in demand as a group whose existence and declarations can be referred to by the West. One needs such a group even if the names have been discredited--both in political and moral terms.

"If they really changed their views they would have to state in public that in their political infatuation, in their drive for power at any price--they made a mistake by supporting the American restrictions at the cost of the national interest. Also, they would perhaps have to plead guilty--of responsibility for bringing the economy to ruin in 1981, of obstructing the efforts to emerge from the crisis, of splitting society.

"Are Adam Michnik, Lech Walesa, Zbigniew Bujak, Jerzy Milewski and others in a position to concede all those errors and transgressions to restore the lost face? Their behaviour so far permits no such hope."

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POLITICS

POLAND

URBAN COMMENTS ON NUCLEAR ACCIDENT PROTOCOL, OTHER ISSUES

LD310237 Warsaw PAP in English 0048 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 30--The Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban and his deputy Aleksander Perczynski met today with Polish newsmen. Following are the most important topics discussed during the meeting:

--A convention on early notification of cases of nuclear accidents came into force on October 27. This convention has not been ratified yet but Poland, like some other countries, has been observing its principles since October 27, 1986. Already now, a system of round-the-clock contacts with the International Atomic Energy Agency has been created in Poland.

The report of the government commission for evaluation of nuclear radiation and preventive measures has won high international approval. Documents which already are in the agency's disposal, indicate that Poland's territory was less contaminated than the territories of other European countries. The Polish system of measuring radioactive contamination is being studied at present by IAEA experts and will most likely be recommended by the agency to be introduced in some of its member-countries.

--The chemical and light industry authorities have been given the government's consent to increase their hard currency means needed for the import of some indispensable components necessary in the production of engine oil. The decision has already brought some positive results. The supplies of engine oil are on the increase. In accordance with the estimates of the chemical and light industry ministry the production of all lubricants will exceed the last year's figures, which should make the market calmer.

--The "Interpegro" foreign trade company has many times infringed in its activity on the principles and binding regulations and has been warned about the fact. Last year, the Nik supreme chamber of control obliged the foreign trade minister to make the company introduce some personnel changes and exact from the company the export subsidies, to which it was not entitled, as well as unpaid import takings. Neither the company's supervisory board nor the company's board of managers did anything to adopt concrete steps. On the contrary, they were putting off the execution of the post-control suggestions. Hence, the foreign trade minister withdrew on July 3, 1986 the concession permitting the company to deal in foreign trade. The decision will come into force as of December 31 of this year. The company has two months yet to present a programme of measures aiming to sanify its activity, a programme which would be acceptable and would lead to the revision of the adopted decision.

--The government is aware of the hard situation in medical institutions concerned with the treatment of psychiatric illnesses. There are no free beds for mental patients at present in the hospitals of five voivodships, while the number of beds is insufficient in such hospitals in another 13 voivodships. Nonetheless, every person whose state of health definitely requires hospitalization at a psychiatric institution, is accepted in.

--It is neither in the habit of serious partners participating in the negotiations on the construction in Poland of a license car, nor in the habit of governments of the interested states to disclose early any information on the subject. As far as press reports go, which quoted director of the FSO car factory as their source, their information may be termed a bit too risky, as was sometimes the case before.

--Negotiations on the establishment of the consultative council are progressing favourably, but the details must not be disclosed as the nature of the talks requires some confidentiality. There are more persons, among those who have been asked to sit on the council, willing to accede than there are places in this body, especially as certain proportions have to be observed between the orientations to be represented in the council. It will rather be difficult to adopt such composition of the council which would not make it too large a body.

--Young people should learn about various world outlooks in order to have a possibility of an independent choice, based on broad knowledge, of their own world views. The church, which so frequently refers to the idea of pluralism, shows in this respect monopolistic tendencies which is evidenced, for instance, by its prejudice against the classes in the science of religions, and, hence, against the young people acquiring knowledge about other religions or other points of view than that which is presented during catechetical discourse.

--The first nuclear power plant has been under construction in Zarnowiec since 1984. Studies concerned with the location of other plants embrace the whole country. The plan is to prepare a collection of potential sites for construction of nuclear power plants. As far as the second nuclear power plant goes, suggestions for location were issued two years ago. There are two variants: At the site of the Klempicz village, Pila Voivodship (location Warta) and on the Wloclawek water reservoirs (location Karolewo-Sroki). The final decision as to the location of the construction site of the second nuclear power plant is to be taken in the next few months.

--The economic effects of the three quarters of 1986 allow it to state that: Generally speaking, the central annual plan will be fulfilled. There exist, however, especially endangered areas. It is feared that in the housing construction the planned tasks will not be fulfilled. The results in foreign trade, especially as far as the hard currency zone is concerned, are also lower from the planned ones, even though there is a surplus in the trade with the West. Wages which grow faster than it was anticipated are that area in which the indices adopted in the plan are exceeded.

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ORZECZOWSKI MEETS AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER

LD231528 Warsaw PAP in English 1056 GMT 23 Oct 86

[By PAP Special Correspondent Krzysztof Mroziewicz]

[Text] Canberra, Oct 23: On the second day of his official visit to Australia today, Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski held meetings with Australian top politicians.

He was received by Australia's Governor-General Ninian Stephen and Premier Robert Hawke. During the talks the sides referred to historic ties linking both countries, the contribution of Polish ethnic group, as well as the prospects for Poland's participation in the Expo 88 exhibition and the observances of Australia's 200th anniversary.

Premier Hawke expressed satisfaction at the favourably developing bilateral relations stressing that there exist possibilities of deepening and expanding them. He also accepted an invitation from Zbigniew Messner conveyed by Minister Orzechowski to pay an official visit to Poland.

Minister Orzechowski also took part in a session of the House of Representatives of the Federal Parliament watching an interpellation session. He met with chairwoman of the chamber Mrs Joan Child, who paid an official visit to Poland at the invitation of the Sejm (Polish parliament) recently. Joan Child positively assessed the development of relations and dialogue between the two states and assured Minister Orzechowski that she was awaiting the return visit by a Polish parliamentary delegation.

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FURTHER ON ORZECZOWSKI TALKS IN AUSTRALIA

LD232205 Warsaw PAP in English 1815 GMT 23 Oct 86

[Text] Canberra, Oct. 23--The programme of Minister Orzechowski's stay in Canberra on Thursday also envisaged talks with heads of key ministries in Australia's Government.

During the meeting with Minister for Trade, John Dawkins, the sides discussed the results of trade exchange and economic cooperation between Poland and Australia, and found that it was necessary and purposeful to expand them as well as to improve the relations between the Polish imports from Australia and the Polish exports to that country, and to search for new forms of cooperation, for instance, in selected fields of industry, development of commercial companies, joint ventures on third markets and capital investments.

Minister Orzechowski also discussed with Minister for Primary Industry, John Kerin, questions connected with the expansion of Polish purchases of agricultural products on the Australian market, as well as with cooperation in fisheries and exchange of experience in agricultural sciences.

With minister for transport and aviation, Peter Morris, Minister Orzechowski discussed problems concerning the conclusion of a Polish-Australian agreement on civil air transport.

In a conversation with Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Christopher Hurford, the sides agreed that it was necessary to expand the cultural exchange between the two countries and, among other things, to honour the memory of the great Polish explorer of Australian continent, Pawel Edmund Strzelecki.

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ORZECZOWSKI ACTIVITIES IN MELBOURNE REPORTED

LD242309 Warsaw PAP in English 1950 GMT 24 Oct 86

[By PAP Special Correspondent Krzysztof Mroziewicz]

[Text] Melbourne, Oct 24: On the third day of his visit to Australia today, Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski went to Melbourne where he visited the Monash University. The Slavonic Languages Department of this university was presented with a collection of publications on Polish studies by Minister Orzechowski, who conveyed the gift to Vice-Chancellor M. Logan. The meeting was attended by a group of the university's scholars interested in possibilities of cooperating with Polish higher schools.

Minister Orzechowski also met with chairman of the Australian-Polish Trade Chamber Robert Strang and members of the Board of Directors. The talk focused on increasing trade between both countries. Prof Orzechowski had an opportunity to acquaint himself with the Australian Institute for Scientific and Industrial Research, and toured an over 100-year-old centre for protecting natural environment of Melbourne.

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COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON ORZECZOWSKI VISIT TO PHILIPPINES

LD302347 Warsaw PAP in English 2240 GMT 30 Oct 86

["Press Communique on Orzechowski's Visit to Philippines"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 30--Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski paid an official visit to the Republic of the Philippines October 27-30, 1986 at the invitation from Vice-President and Foreign Minister Dr Salvador Laurel.

Minister Orzechowski was received by President of the Republic Corazon Aquino and met the ministers of trade and industry, and tourism.

During his visit to Manila, Minister Orzechowski laid a wreath at the foot of the monument to hero of struggle for the Philippines' independence Rizal and visited the capital, studying its economic and cultural attainments.

Minister Orzechowski visited a Philippine cultural centre, got acquainted with its attainments and took part in a founding meeting of the Chopin society in Manila.

During official talks at the Foreign Ministry, Ministers Orzechowski and Laurel briefed one another on the current political and economic situation in their respective countries, made a review of bilateral relations and exchanged views on current international issues.

During meetings and talks, they referred to common traditions of struggle for independence and love of peace, expressing their will to develop political dialogue and mutually beneficial cooperation in many areas, based on the principles of equality, respect and mutual advantages. They sized up that the hitherto level of Polish-Philippine relations, particularly economic cooperation, was below the existing possibilities. They pointed to the need to broaden political contacts, to increase trade turnover and to develop various forms of economic cooperation, exchange in science, culture and other spheres.

Expressing opinions on international issues, the sides stated that the most important task of the international community is to maintain peace in the world, halt the arms race, especially of nuclear weapons, bring about disarmament. All states, irrespective of their geographical location, the size of their territories, and level of development should contribute to the achievement of these goals.



The sides declared themselves for the shaping of international relations on the principles of peaceful co-existence, non-use of force and the threat of using it, respecting sovereignty and equality of all states.

The Reykjavik summit of the Soviet and U.S. leaders was found to be an essential stage in the East-West dialogue.

In the course of the talks, the sides assessed the current situation in Europe, as well as in Asia and the Pacific. Stressed was the need to increase efforts in favour of freeing those regions from nuclear and chemical weapons, and gradually reducing conventional armaments. The sides voiced support for the idea of atom-free zones and other proposals aimed at reaching these goals.

The talks and meetings passed in the atmosphere of friendship, mutual respect, and understanding. They showed concordance or convergence of views on many issues discussed.

On behalf of Poland's President of the Council of State Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, Minister Orzechowski invited President of the Philippines Corazon Aquino to pay a visit to Poland. Minister Orzechowski himself invited Vice-President and Foreign Minister of the Philippines Salvador Laurel to visit Poland, too. Both invitations were accepted with satisfaction.

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POLAND

ORZECZOWSKI MEETS U.S. OFFICIAL, OTHERS

LD070955 Warsaw PAP in English 0345 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Vienna, Nov 6: On the third day of the CSCE meeting in Vienna, Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski met with Foreign Minister of Sweden Sten Andersson. Their conversation concerned the hitherto course of the CSCE meeting, and, in particular, the possibility of obtaining a mandate for the conference's next stage in Stockholm. The two ministers expressed a concordant opinion that there existed conditions at present for full normalization and further development of relations between Poland and Sweden.

Next, Minister Orzechowski held talks with secretary of state for foreign affairs of Luxembourg, Robert Goebbels, and met with Foreign Minister of Iceland Matthias A. Mathiesen. During these two conversations opinions were exchanged on the hitherto course and prospects of the Vienna meeting. Some issues connected with the development of bilateral relations were also discussed.

Minister Orzechowski also met today with head of Federal Department for Foreign Affairs of Switzerland, Pierre Aubert. The two ministers discussed international issues devoting special attention to the problem of disarmament. The ministers also discussed the state of relations between Poland and Switzerland and possibilities of their further development.

In the afternoon, Minister Marian Orzechowski held a meeting with federal foreign affairs minister of the FRG, Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The subject of their conversation was the Vienna meeting and some aspects of bilateral relations.

Poland's Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski, participating in the Vienna CSCE meeting, visited today Vienna's International Centre and paid visits to the general directors of the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) [UN Industrial Development Organization] as well as to the U.N. office in Vienna.

Minister Orzechowski highly appraised the activity of the International Atomic Energy Agency in preventing the proliferation of nuclear arms and expressed a desire of further expanding Poland's cooperation with the IAEA both in nuclear power industry as well as other areas, including agriculture, food preservatives, medicine and environmental protection.

During his meeting with UNIDO director general, Domingo Siazone, Minister Orzechowski stressed that cooperation in the forum of that organization should be carried out on the principles of mutual advantages and should favour the restructuring of the present, unjust international economic relations. Noting Poland's good cooperation with UNIDO, Minister Orzechowski pointed to further possibilities of its development, especially in the realization of ventures designed to provide technical assistance and help in the training of specialists for developing countries.

During the talk with director general of the U.N. office here Mcwaffak Allaf, [name as received] Minister Marian Orzechowski stressed the significance of steps taken by the U.N. for strengthening international security, for disarmament and for liquidating tensions and hotbeds of tension. He said Poland would still bring a constructive contribution to the work of the organization, striving also to increase its effectiveness. Orzechowski recalled that Poland would play host to participants in a European conference of ministers for social welfare in Warsaw in April 1987.

On the initiative of the U.S. side, undersecretary of state at the Polish Foreign Ministry Jan Kinast met U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Canada Rozanne Ridgway here November 5.

The talk focused on the main problems related to the present state of bilateral relations between Poland and the U.S. The sides agreed to continue the talks.

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POLAND

MESSNER ADDRESSES REPORT-BACK CAMPAIGN

AU170950 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Oct 86 pp 3, 4

["Text" of speech by Premier Zbigniew Messner at the 11 October Warsaw accountability-election conference of the PZPR]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades, allow me to thank you for inviting me to this conference. It is with great satisfaction that I am here for the third time since 1984. This great satisfaction derives not only from the fact that the Warsaw party organization has a special place on the political map of our country, but primarily from the fact that its activities deserve to be highly praised.

I am pleased to tell you that the Politburo and PZPR First Secretary W. Jaruzelski are full of praise for these activities.

I attentively listened to your report and discussion and I noticed many profound ideas rooted in the concern for our country's further development and for urgently solving daily problems of our capital.

Working under difficult and complicated conditions, the Warsaw party organization has effectively overcome its defensiveness and organizational weakness. It has achieved significant results in solving socioeconomic problems of Warsaw as a city and as a voivodship and in promoting internal party work.

I am stressing this in the knowledge that your organization is more active in all occupational and social communities than any other voivodship organization. That is why your organization has to employ most varied and intensive methods of party work. You have devoted much effort to consistent ideological-educational and information activities, you have waged a resolute struggle against the adversaries of the party and socialism, and you have achieved a great deal in streamlining the system of internal party information.

Nevertheless, quite a large number of party members continues to stand aside from information activities, which means that the information system still requires improvements.

The plant educational and information centers continue to be a neglected instrument of propaganda, ideological, and educational work. There are just not quite 50 such centers in Warsaw Voivodship, although your potential in this regard is much greater. Let me recall that as recently as 2 years ago the Government Presidium made decisions to facilitate the development of these centers in plants. I think that the issue of these centers is an urgent task, one which we will have to solve in the new term.

We highly value the Warsaw Committee's interesting method of work with the managing personnel in institutions and plants. These methods enable Warsaw economic activists to exchange experience and improve party knowledge. One form of this work is the Club of Economic Knowledge or the Industrial Management Course for the reserve cadre.

#### We Welcome Initiative and Genuine Militancy

We continue to note an increase in the inspirational and programmatic significance of the primary party organizations in the communities of cultural, scientific, and university workers.

However, despite the consistent efforts to devalue the actions and slogans of the oppositionists, the political divisions in the Warsaw cultural centers and university have still not been fully eliminated. It is unfortunate that these divisions still continue, even though not in such a glaring shape. As the Warsaw Committee's report stated, the primary party organizations in these communities continue to gradually regain their leading role, even though they are not always internally balanced. Party members in these communities are active at many levels of management and help realize scientific and cultural policies.

The progressive normalization in these communities was confirmed by the discussion on the draft party program and 10th congress theses. Extensive consultations about the cultural development program up to 1990 also bore witness to the cultural community's militancy and desire to constructively participate in the country's life.

That party organizations in universities have intensified their sociopolitical activities has been proved by the fact that, to set an example, they have assumed and accomplished tasks connected with modifying the university law. They still have much to accomplish in improving party discipline, integrating activists, and increasing their impact on students.

However, we are able to say that advantageous changes continue to take place in social and political awareness. A favorable political climate for implementing new tasks continues to develop in all communities. It is our party that is the driving force of all these changes.

Another example of this is the universal pregress discussion, the militant participation of Warsaw delegates in 10th congress work, the increasing militancy of party teams in representative and self-government bodies, trade unions, and social organizations, and the many initiatives and activities promoted by party organizations.



We highly value the work of the Warsaw party organization with a view to strengthening the role and base of the PRON and to attracting many non-party people to active sociopolitical life.

Even if you have still not been able to make good the numerical losses of your ranks, it is a fact that admissions to your party organization continue to increase and departures from it to decrease. In the first 6 months of this year you admitted to your party organization almost as many new members as you did in 1985. For the first time the number of admissions exceeded the number of departures, which were quite useful at times, because we are not interested in passivity and fake activities.

It is our fundamental duty to create a climate of exacting requirements with respect to those who are in the party and those who want to join it. Comrade Kubasiewicz was right when he said that it is the quality of new members and not their quantity that is important because the militancy and style of our work depends on the quality of our members and not on their number. Paving the way for efficiency and consistency, improving agility and discipline of implementation are the leading motives of everyday party work. There are many examples of such activity in your organization. I will only mention the working trips made by the party voivodship party and administrative leadership to plants. I will also mention the periodical meetings you and the ZSL hold with the socioeconomic activists from agriculture and food economy to review and account for the fulfillment of tasks.

The present accountability-election campaign has a new quality and represents the concluding stage of the work started during the pre-congress campaign and during the congress itself. The most important issue is to insure that party documents formulate tasks as clearly as possible and that their implementation is highly efficient. I stress this efficiency because as our experience tells us efficiency is still a thing unheard of.

All action programs will be drawn up for 5 years up to the 11th party congress, and this should help the stabilized leaderships of party organizations to implement congress and post-congress resolutions. This is the precise goal and sense of the present campaign.

All voivodship conferences continue to confirm that the party's basic task is to combat whatever hinders the full exploitation of the potential of socialism, offends against our political principles, holds back progress, and delays efforts to find the best methods of promoting social and economic strategy. Accountability and election conferences continue to devote much attention to improving party activities, especially to strengthening the primary party organizations, which must bear the main burden of party work.

The militancy of these organizations in developing and expressing class and workers views and initiatives in production plants, schools, universities, creative and cultural centers, government offices, and rural areas must become our daily commitment. Through its activities our party--from party groups through the Central Committee--must consistently liquidate all long-standing neglects and superficiality of the ideological-educational work done by various communities.

Efforts to strengthen the Marxist-Leninist character of our party make it necessary for every party member to have a good knowledge of the principles of our ideology, to be an expert in the class comprehension of present political, social, and economic processes and problems, and to possess motives for his own activities.

Your conference has devoted much attention to these most crucial issues contained in the 10th congress resolution. This means that the communists in Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship are mature individuals and have a sense of responsibility for implementing the 10th congress resolutions and decisions.

#### There Is No Return to the Old Extensive Methods of the Economy

Comrades, the 10th congress adopted a far-reaching strategy of the country's socioeconomic development, and we based the tasks for the present 5-year period on this strategy. Most briefly, these tasks involved efforts to accelerate the development processes in our economy, to reduce the period in which we will regain economic balance, and to achieve further gradual improvements in our living standards.

We are about to conclude drawing up our 1986-1990 plan. Not so long ago the government examined and initialled the draft socioeconomic plan and submitted it to the Sejm. The drawing up of this plan took a long time because of many reasons and exceptionally complicated determining factors.

The present draft was completed on the strength of the project submitted to the 10th congress delegates and was modified in line with the results of the 10th congress discussion and resolution and with the views expressed by the PRON, the Polish Economic Society, the Chief Technical Organization, the Consultative Economic Council, and the All-Poland Trade Union Accord. The main changes apply to important social and political problems of economic balance, especially the balance between earnings and the flow of goods, retail prices, producer prices, income policy, and real cuts in subsidies.

The plan places particularly strong emphasis on two issues: Restoring economic equilibrium, and improving efficiency. First this means having to accelerate scientific, technological, and organizational progress, and especially the practical introduction of the results of science and technology. For this purpose, outlay on research and development work is being more than doubled, resources are being concentrated on the most important undertakings, which include the practical introduction of new solutions; the system of government orders is being expanded, and a special fund for new inventions is being introduced.

The development of science and technology will be closely coordinated with the tasks stemming from the scientific-technological cooperation agreements concluded with the USSR and other CEMA countries. For only by acting together can the socialist countries achieve the highest world standard in many spheres.



Second, it is necessary to gear our economy toward exports. It is foreseen that Poland will take a considerably greater part in the international division of labor by making use of new forms of cooperation such as joint enterprises and direct cooperation between enterprises and scientific institutions. Poland's pro-export orientation toward cooperation with the socialist countries serves to increase Poland's economic potential and thus make it easier to normalize its economic relations with the capitalist countries. There will be greater stimuli for production for export purposes and the right conditions for investments intended to encourage exports will be created.

Third, faster structural changes are needed. In particular, it is necessary to modernize more quickly those industrial branches that produce high quality-goods with a low consumption of fuels, energy, and materials and which possess high export possibilities.

Fourth, a fuller use of existing work resources, energy, raw materials, machines, and equipment should be made, and waste and bad quality eliminated. For this purpose, apart from creating conditions necessary for improving productivity, it will also be necessary to modernize production assets and introduce new materials and technology.

The plan contains undertakings which coordinate all these paths. These include the program, adopted on the initiative of Warsaw scientific circles, of speeding up the introduction of electronics to industry, which will raise the technological standard of machines and equipment, boost exports, and save more fuels, energy, and raw materials.

The implementation of this program will at the same time be an important part of the restructuring of Warsaw's industry, based on changing the profile of production, accelerating production destined for the domestic market and exports, rationalizing employment, and transferring some types of production outside Warsaw.

In accordance with the decisions of the 10th congress, we are proceeding to the second stage of economic reform. This second stage will consist of a stabilization of economic principles, instruments, and mechanisms; an absolutely consistent implementation thereof; and the introduction of sharper sanctions for inefficient economic units. We must indoctrinate the belief whereby there is no return to the old extensive forms of management, which means that the only way to increase the national income is to improve efficiency. Comrade Kubasiewicz was right to dwell at length on quality in his speech. Effectiveness and quality combine to form one whole. At the same time, activity aimed at achieving universal economic equilibrium, especially financial-market equilibrium, should be regarded as a feature of the second stage of economic reform. There are still negative phenomena occurring in this sphere.

We observe a rise in remuneration which is much higher than that planned. The point was raised during today's discussion that, to a large extent, this rise is not supported by appropriate work effort. The attention of many enterprises is still drawn more to gaining the backing of central bodies than to finding

solutions to internal problems, more to gaining additional preferential treatment and allowances than to raising the productivity and the quality of their work. The race for rises and rewards, unconnected with economic potential, creates an inflationary spiral of wages and brings about excessive fluctuation. We must first of all put an end to these phenomena, we must block possibilities for obtaining raises in a way that would be outside the system. We will be creating conditions so that everywhere, in every professional milieu, it will be possible to tie in the level of wages with work effort. This applies as much to workers as to entire enterprises. We must have the courage to apply truly socialist principles of social justice. Let us not give in to the demagoguery of slogans and lack of guts. A good worker should earn well--the better if his efforts are better than those of others. The appropriate guarantees for this should be a durable element in motivation and the current policy of remuneration.

In the immediate future we envisage the introduction of a series of changes in the present arrangement. The point here is to apply methods of analytical assessment of work, to have differentials in taxes on above-norm remunerations, to verify the principles of index-linking wages, and finally to achieve greater effectiveness in the instruments that shape the proportions of wages at various levels, mainly between the spheres of material and non-material production.

The basic condition for all these changes is that we increase the incentive role of wages, which means that we should tell people that if they want to earn more money they should work better and more efficiently and should see that no waste occurs in their plants. The plant systems of wages and the future collective labor contracts must provide for the practical implementation of this principle.

Raising the incentive role of wages depends on many factors and is closely connected with social allowances and benefits. The 10th congress instructed the government to ensure that social benefits are granted in line with more rational principles and are compatible with the rules of social justice. Comrade W. Jaruzelski said at the congress: "Our policy should be to give less to those for whom social benefits mean little and more to those who really need them. In a word, we should reduce the range of such benefits in order to increase their effectiveness."

We are already in the midst of intensive work in this connection because we need urgent solutions. But the problem is not easy. We will devise a number of new regulations and will submit them to discussion. Trade unions are and will be our important partner in this regard.

At the second national party conference we would like to present a comprehensive report on social benefits, together with proposals for long-term systematic solutions. The application of strict principles of economic compulsion was received by the 10th congress with full political approval.

Let me remind you of a line of thought from my report presented at the 10th congress. Economic compulsion is not incompatible with socialist principles. On the contrary, it is a fundamental condition for the efficacy of socialism as an economic system. We are aware that, in practice up till now, too many signs of paternalism have occurred. Allowances and reliefs, annulments and preferential treatment are being used too extensively. Inefficiency and passivity are being too easily excused. Such practice is often justified by there being a threat of local social conflicts. We fully appreciate this aspect. However we think that a continuation of such practices is not possible just from the political point of view. They cause serious social harm, undermine the credibility of systematic solutions and hamper development processes.

How bitter is the colloquial phrase that arises from these phenomena that it does not pay to be good, that it does not pay to make too much effort. Subsidies, their extent and the pace of their increase are a special problem in this area. Subsidies distort the economic balance, weaken the interest in work efficiency, and make it necessary to burden profitable enterprises with the costs of those which are unprofitable, although they could be. This matter is even more significant because of the fact that in 1987 we would make considerable progress in the sphere of restoring financial balance. According to the assumptions of the Central Annual Plan for 1987 which have recently been adopted the central budget should be balanced for the first time.

The review of the principles for granting subsidies, which we mean to introduce, the restrictions in their scales, and changes in their structures, do not, of course, mean their complete elimination. There are subsidies in every economy, in capitalist economies as well as in socialist ones. But the granting of subsidies cannot free anybody from the constraint of raising the level of efficiency.

Correct price levels are an important factor in an objective cost effectiveness analysis and should be consistent with worldwide levels, because this can help increase Poland's share in the international division of labor.

The general review of organizational structures in the economy and the state and the verification of jobs should be the top task among the 10th congress socioeconomic commitments. These are the tasks sponsored by the party, and this is why their success will be a success of the party's authority. These reviews are not something temporary. Every plant, institution, and office should always try to improve its organization. We see this as a great opportunity to increase social productivity, which has for years been neglected, unfortunately. Much has been said about the job verification at the 10th congress and after, but my personal view is that this verification must be carried out with great prudence and must be thoroughly prepared. There must be nothing superficial about it. The verification must produce enduring results, that is, it must ever be continued. Otherwise everything will return to the old state of affairs, especially in administration. That is why I think that through joint efforts to explain, clarify, instruct, and train we will be able to acquire the organizational ability to carry out the job verification.

I wish to state that the government will make specific efforts to really improve and reduce administration. The task is not easy. We should also bear in mind that in some cases the verification of jobs will make it necessary to increase some echelons. We should be aware of this possibility.

#### The Warsaw Conurbation Has Its Problems

Esteemed Comrades, the issues of the Warsaw conurbation have a prominent place in the action program of your party organization, and this is natural. Many of these issues were discussed a month ago by the meeting of the Warsaw activists, which I had the pleasure to attend. These issues should be given utmost attention by the party and administration because Warsaw and its multiple commitments make this necessary. Warsaw is a center of industry, state administration, culture, education, and science. It has representative, tourist, and many other functions, and that is why it needs specific solutions to make it easier for it to discharge these functions and to promote the well-being of its inhabitants.

That is why the Presidium Government came to see you in 1984 on the initiative of Comrade W. Jaruzelski and that is why we had talks and meetings with you to discuss assistance for Warsaw.

We proposed to you regular meetings, say, every quarter, to discuss matters with the people responsible for the measures to benefit Warsaw. Unfortunately, practice has shown that some issues have been neglected and disregarded because a lack of control and resources and because of objective difficulties.

Let me say something about the Warsaw subway. I declare to you that the construction of the subway cannot be stopped because Warsaw needs it as we need the air to breathe. However, the issue is difficult and requires large amounts of funds and materials, which are the same materials we use for housing construction and which we lack in various parts of the country. This is the crux of the subway construction difficulties. However, difficulties are there to be overcome, and the subway will continue to be constructed.

The next issue, comrades, is the issue of housing construction. In the report of the executive, much attention was paid to these matters. Five years have gone by since we handed the matter of housing construction over to regional authorities. This 5-year period needs to be summed up. There are of course reasons that arise from material difficulties and others, but undoubtedly there are also subjective reasons. The social disquiet about matters pertaining to housing construction and the concern of political and party authorities of the country, was as we said at the congress, the basis for setting up a council for housing affairs. It is obvious that the council, by its very existence, will not create houses. But, through its inspirational actions, it has pointed out a whole series of systems and organizational weaknesses that restrain progress in solving the housing problem and its improvement.



Let me recall, for example, the matter of taxation levied when apartments are exchanged. A new method, which the government has fully approved, has been introduced in this regard, which means that in order to ease exchanges of apartments--the cheapest way of improving the housing situation--we will not levy any tax in this connection. What is more, we will encourage such transactions by cash grants.

It was also at the suggestion of the council that we undertook the decision to augment the initial assumption of the national socioeconomic plan for investment outlays to a broadly understood production of materials and goods that supply the housing construction industry. In this way we wish to create a basis, a lasting structural basis for expanding housing construction development. Only in this way can we satisfy social expectations, expressed in a Sejm resolution which assumes, after 1990, the building of 300,000 homes a year.

We are now on the eve of system changes that boil down to the restructuring of the principles and conditions of giving credits to the housing construction industry, to granting state budget assistance to housing and also to implementing amendments in the Sejm concerning housing law and the exchange of apartments. The proposed legal regulation is characterized by the comprehensive nature of the solutions, which aim at the assessments of the mechanisms of actions and their effects, both in the sphere of housing construction and in the management of housing resources.

The government thus seeks to create extensive legal, organizational, and material conditions for the development of housing construction. However, all its weaknesses and shortcomings must be eliminated by joint efforts of all participants in the investment process--by investors, planners, contractors, cooperatives, suppliers of materials, and other people concerned. It is impossible to make a worthwhile breakthrough and overcome the stalemate without concerted and partnerlike activities. The people's councils have an important role to play in improving our housing construction, because they are in charge of general and housing construction enterprises, of most of the investment resources, and of the planning and design potential.

Last year, the average length of time needed to complete an apartment block was 23 months, whereas 7 years ago it was only less than 12 months. Similarly, the length of time needed to build single-family houses has lengthened from 2 to 5 years. Although this lengthening tendency has been halted this year, the problem remains.

There is a great discrepancy between the length of construction time in various voivodships. The time for building them ranges from 32 months in Warsaw and 31 months in Katowice to 12 months in Legnica and 11 months in Lodz. There is no objective explanation for these differences. They are certainly not a source of glory for the building trade. I believe builders would like these sad figures to disappear into history as quickly as possible.



Prolonged building times mean greater costs. The average building cost of every square meter of usable accommodation space in buildings commenced in the first half of 1986 was Z32,000. Unfortunately, the Warsaw Voivodship takes the lead with a price of Z39,000.

And yet the Lodz Voivodship is capable of building at Z31,000 per square meter, and other voivodships even less.

Much criticism has been expressed about the nonagricultural private economy, especially the phenomena of unjustified profiteering, abuse, and corruption.

The stance of the party and state bodies vis-a-vis this sector has been presented many times. Our purpose is to conduct a stable and consistent policy that harmonizes the activity of the private sector with the socio-economic needs of the country and specific regions and with existing supply and employment possibilities.

One should remember that the nonagricultural private economy provides over 55 percent of the services used by the population, develops market production, and satisfies the economy's demand for specialized products and services that are hard to come by, such as medical equipment and spare parts for agricultural machinery.

In order to assure such a harmony, an interministerial PZPR and SD team headed by the finance minister has worked out a report on private, nonagricultural earnings activity together with conclusions. The report proposes, among other things, greater powers for state administrative bodies to establish the size and structure of handicrafts; make better use of work resources, especially where high-class specialists and trades in short supply are involved; supply handicrafts with raw and other materials; restrict excessive earnings that are not commensurate with work effort; and increase financial inspections.

This will require appropriate changes in the legal system (amendments to four laws are suggested), and the inclusion in socioeconomic plans of data on the private nonagricultural economy.

Economic and tax abuses will be combatted with greater efficiency and economic and penal sanctions will be sharpened, especially fines.

Such punishments as total or partial confiscation of property, confiscation of the material goods involved in a crime, and loss of one's right to carry out one's occupation have been suggested.

The phenomenon of moonlighting will also be a subject of regular economic analysis as a basis for specified action.

## The Trade Unions--A Difficult, Constructive, and Increasingly Necessary Partner

Esteemed comrades. Speaking about the current tasks of party work we cannot forget about the ongoing preparations for the second assembly of the Polish trade union movement. Union organizations are an important partner for party organizations in resolving community issues, especially in shaping living and working conditions. The party, fully respecting the independence and organizationally distinct nature of the trade union movement, cannot be indifferent to the substance and quality of trade unionists' work. I recall this because it is necessary for us to intensify the exertion of political influence on the trade union movement. I am of course thinking about activity by our party members in union organizations. It is on them, above all, that responsibility for the socialist nature of the vocational movement rests. They should see to it that the union program that is being created should be firmly rooted in the socioeconomic reality, cover not only issues of distributing but also of generating the national income, and provide for trade union participation in raising the level of management efficiency.

Beneficial changes are taking place in trade union activity. Until recently unions had concentrated on defending employees' interests and on intra-organizational activity. Today we can positively assess rising interest in this participatory and educational role. This is clearly noticeable in cooperation among the state administration, the OPZZ and the federations. I will not hide that the unions make a difficult partner for us but it is an ever more constructive partner and a partner of whom we have an ever greater need. We are happy to note that less and less demand and claims are being made by activists. The importance attached by the state authorities to the work of the unions is illustrated by the numerous meetings between party and state representatives with trade union activists. One example was the meeting between the OPZZ and chairmen of the largest factory trade unions on the one hand and government representatives on the other, in Poznan on 3 October.

We are all aware that to overcome the economic difficulties and to lead the country onto the road of accelerated economic development requires peaceful, creative effort by the entire people. Socioeconomic relations are an integral system of many mutually dependent components. This system does not tolerate destructive actions which interrupt the even pace of social work. This fact, this proposition, is also extremely well known to the opponents of our socialist state. It is not, therefore, by chance that they have made an attempt to return to destabilization and chaos. An attempt of precisely that kind was the creation in Gdansk on 29 September this year of the illegal, so-called provisional council of solidarity and initiatives to duplicate similar structures in some parts of the country. All of us quite recently have painfully experienced the effects of the destructive activity of the very same people, the very same names, and ascertained their ill will, their disregard for our national interests, the threat they are to the citizens' standard of living, and their disregard for all and sundry that runs counter to their fallacious belief in their own strength. Hence, today, our society, richer in experience, can decipher with ease the false demagogic platitudes

contained in their declaration and appeal. They lost their credibility a long time ago. The initiators of this political provocation--and such is basically the essence of their actions for legalizing compromised antistate underground structures--are and will remain on the edge of public life. We shall neutralize their efforts using every means available to us under the current laws. They will not succeed in either disrupting or blocking the process of national accord, initiated and consistently introduced by the party, the process within which all patriotic forces of our nation are uniting.

#### Relations With the Socialist Countries Are of a Priority Nature for Us

Esteemed Comrades, today the entire world is looking toward the capital of Iceland. As we all know, an extraordinary meeting between the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, and the president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, is taking place there at the Soviet Leader's initiative. We are awaiting the results of that meeting with the hope that the Soviet Union's consistent peaceful policy will finally elicit a response from the other wide of the Atlantic, for we know that the main reason for Comrade Gorbachev's proposal was his striving to rebuild the climate of Geneva and to open up a road toward specific and significant results in the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The numerous Soviet peace proposals that have recently been put forward do not leave any shadow of doubt as to the intentions of the leadership of the CPSU and the land of the Soviets. What is more, it is difficult not to see their readiness to take into account the interests of the otherside. This resolute and tenacious aspiration aimed at ensuring peace on our continent and in the world has won and is winning for itself universal respect and meets with the resolution support of our nation, state, and party; of the whole socialist community; and of all the world's progressive forces.

Today it is clear not only to us, but also to all objective observers of the international scene, that in recent years the United States has been dominated by a dangerous, bellicose attitude leading to the putting forth of counter-proposals which not only fail to take the interests of the partner into account, but which are known from the start to be unacceptable to him. As far as the Reykjavik meeting itself and the Soviet side's approach permit optimism as to the future of dialogue between the great powers of importance for the entire international climate, this optimism must nevertheless be cautious. The motto of the Jagiellonian University was very appropriately applied to the context of the meeting recently. The motto is: "By Brains Rather Than Brawn." If only brains would finally win.

Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of our party, said at the Zielona Gora party conference "for Poland there is only one choice." Here in Warsaw, which had such a [word indistinct] experience in the war, this choice is particularly clear. This choice is inseparably linked with our strategy of action, together with the entire socialist

community, and is aimed at improving the climate in international relations and at achieving detente and maintaining and consolidating peace. The entire foreign policy of People's Poland is subordinated to this aim. We bring forward many initiatives; we have extensive international contacts.

Let me recall here two recent examples. The visit of the state and party delegation of Poland with Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Far East confirmed yet again the nature, which is of priority importance for us, of relations with socialist states. The course of the visit proved that there is mutual interest in the all-round development of relations where there are still many untapped possibilities. It furnished further evidence of Poland's increasing prestige--of a Poland which is seen as an important and promising partner.

Apart from the official visits to the Mongolian People's Republic and the DPRK, the business-like talks in the PRC also aroused understandable and particular interest. This was the first meeting at this level in almost 3 decades. We are counting on the fact that the resumption of the dialogue with our Chinese comrades will help to deepen and fruitfully develop bilateral relations. The talks in the socialist states of Asia confirmed that, like Poland, these states are vitally interested in eliminating tension in international relations and in maintaining and consolidating peace.

Also, my official visit of friendship to the fraternal GDR which ended yesterday was devoted to, apart from matters pertaining to our bilateral relations, discussing the international situation. Our views concerning the reasons for and the nature of the present tension of the world arena coincide fully. We jointly consider--and this found expression in the published communique--that there is no more valuable commodity than peace and international security.

It should always be remembered that the fact that we have on all our borders--and this is unprecedented in our history--friendly states is linked with socialism. A community based on the same political system and alliance-based ties links us to these states. A period of more than 40 years of peace in Europe is the best evidence of the value of the present political and territorial order.

In the coming week Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Politburo, will be paying an official friendship visit to the PPR. This will be yet another step along the road of strengthening friendship between our countries and consolidating cooperation in all spheres.

Esteemed comrades, the adoption of a programme for the next term of office is one of the main aims of our conference today. For the first time in the life of our party, in accordance with the resolutions of the 10th congress, this will be a term of office which will be longer. The conditions for the implementation

of what really has to be done and the fulfillment of social expectations are difficult and complex. However, I am convinced that the program which we have adopted and its consistent and successful implementation will make it possible to improve for the inhabitants of Warsaw their conditions of life and work, will make transportation in the town easier, and will ensure the development of new spheres of industry and construction.

I would like in conclusion to express the hope that the activity of the Warsaw party organization will produce numerous successes in the new term of office, too. I convey to the newly elected authorities of the Warsaw committee the most cordial congratulations and wishes for fruitful activity in the new term of office that has gotten under way. On behalf of the supreme party authorities, I wish profound satisfaction in active participation in the life of the party to all delegates and to the new leadership of the city committee and to the whole of your organization. Thank you for your attention.

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POLITICS

POLAND

UN DELEGATE SPEAKS ON DRUG ADDICTION

LD011813 Warsaw PAP in English 1626 GMT 1 Nov 86

[Text] New York, Nov 1: Poland's delegate Marek Zawacki addressed one of the committees of the 41st session of the U.N. General Assembly which devotes its debates to drug addiction.

While presenting some of the problems of prevention and combating drug addiction in Poland, Zawacki stressed the importance of international cooperation in this field, especially in the context of a U.N. conference on drug abuse and illegal drug traffic, planned for next summer, and added that Poland wishes to actively participate in that meeting.

Speaking on Poland's achievements in the struggle against drug addiction Zawacki recalled the adoption by the Polish Parliament in 1985 of a special law dealing with this problem, the foundation of a commission for the prevention of drug addiction and the creation of a fund which covers expenses for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug addiction victims and their resocialization.

The speaker also added that in Poland a growing social activity can be observed in this field. The government, as well as social organizations and institutions, including religious ones, and mass media are leading an intensive information campaign which shows the disastrous effects of drug addiction.

Zawacki also pointed to the fact that Poland for years has cooperated with appropriate agencies of the U.N. system responsible for combating drug addiction. "We are in favour of broad cooperation on the international arena, including the use of all U.N. mechanisms in this important social question," said the Polish delegate.

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## MLYNCHAK-KIM IL-SONG TALKS DETAILED

LD011819 Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 1 Nov 86

[Text] Pyongyang, Nov 1--General Secretary of the Korean Workers' Party CC, President of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Kim Il-song received here today Chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, Vice President of the Council of State Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, now on a visit to the DPRK.

During a friendly talk, the sides recalled the recent visit to DPRK paid by PUWP CC First Secretary, President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Kim Il-song's visit to Poland paid two years ago.

It was stressed that both those events opened a new stage in the development of relations between the two states and fraternal friendship between societies of Poland and the DPRK. Kim Il-song stressed that the current visit is a practical conformation of this. The sides also exchanged views on the achievements and development tasks in both states.

The interlocutors stressed the wish for cooperation in their countries of allied parties with the leading in the socialist building workers' parties. They also pointed to the importance of this process in the current stage of both countries' development.

The meeting became an occasion for an exchange of views on the current international situation. The sides unanimously expressed support for the peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, including proposals aimed to lessen tension on the Korean Peninsula. Tadeusz Mlynczak expressed support for DPRK's initiative to create a nuclear-free zone on that peninsula.

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CSO: 2020/20

POLITICS

POLAND

MESSNER MEETS ADMINISTRATIVE COURSE GRADUATES

LD072031 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 3--Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner met today with the graduates of a just-completed good-graduate course here for state administration workers holding senior positions in the state and economic apparatus.

The graduates of the post-graduate study centre in Warsaw, who were taught such things as new elements in the theory and practice of management and measures aiming to streamline administrative structures, discussed with the prime minister issues related to raising the quality of administration personnel.

Speakers at the meeting stressed that life had confirmed the need of updating the education of state officers, provided by the centre.

More than 130 people have so far graduated from it and the number will grow to nearly 200 by the end of the year, covering chiefly young people between 30-35 years of age, who are heads of departments at voivodship offices, town mayors, rural community heads, or hold important jobs at ministries.

Addressing the graduates, Messner stressed that proper working of the state depends in a large measure on the expertise and knowledge of people filling the basic and medium-level tiers of the administration.

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POLITICS

POLAND

# COMMISSION ON NAZI CRIMES ISSUES STATEMENT

LD280405 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 27 Oct 86

["Disgraceful Capitulation"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 27--The commission for the investigation of Nazi crimes in Poland--The Institute of National Remembrance has in connection with the suspension of the persecution of war criminals in judges' ermines, the "volksgerichtshof" [VGH] the Nazi people's tribunal, issued the following statement:

On October 21, this year, the public opinion has been officially informed that the jurisdiction of the FRG has given up in the alleged struggle to bring to justice the criminals, who dressed in red ermines, formally fulfilled the functions of judges but in fact were Nazi butchers. In the period of 1934-1939 the VGH passed 85 death sentences and between 1940-1944, 5,181 people were sentenced to be decapitated.

An official West German report (A. Goetz 'Bilanz der Verfolgung Von N.S. Straftaten' 1986--introduction by Minister of Justice of the FRG) characterizes the VGH as "an instrument of political terror which was not to use the law but aimed at destroying the political foe." And destroy it did. By sentencing people to be decapitated, for instance, for saying that "Hitler should go because he does not control the situation..."

Some 106 professional judges, 292 members of the jury and 179 prosecutors participated in the criminal undertaking called the people's tribunal--the Volksgerichtshof. Five out of them were sentenced (aside from Vice-Minister of Justice Schlegelberger) by the American tribunal (trial No 3--of lawyers) to life (two) or to many years in prison. They were released before serving their time in the early 1950's and were granted high pensions for their fruitful work in the service for the state.

With regard to four others indictments were filed but no legally binding sentence was passed in any of the cases. Another three died before the trials ended and one was unable to stand trial for health reasons.

The law enforcement authorities of the FRG once again started a complex investigation in the case of the "bloody judges," the blutrichter from the VGH, in as late as 1979.

Its results were portrayed in a 213-page report compiled by the head of West Berlin's jurisdiction, Senator R. Scholz (CDU). It scrupulously lists the outcome of the proceedings--150 volumes of acts, 113 files, 59 sets of personal data files, 85 fascicles with materials..only to state, that, unfortunately, no one has been sentenced under a binding verdict. "Such a result must be deemed unsatisfactory by everyone who believes in real justice."

Excuses for the disappointment that those believing in justice were subject to are many. The age of the suspects, their health state, a lack of possibility to show that the "bloody judges" acted on low motives...the secrecy of the courtroom makes it impossible to discover how the respective judges cast their votes in reaching judicial decisions...and moreover, the law of the FRG makes provisions to sentence a judge for passing a unjustified death sentence only when it can be proven that they one [as printed] consciously broke the law and based the sentence on deliberately falsified premises. This, on the other hand, is impossible to carry out because the "blutrichtern" can always say that as Nazis by conviction, they felt binded by the then existing Nazi legal norms.

The circle closes. In order not to prosecute it was decided in the past to abide by the law which makes it impossible to effectively prosecute the "murderers from behind the desk." Today it is proclaimed that there are not enough effective instruments for prosecution. A planned sluggishness...to allow the flow of time to lead to an actual amnesty. A programmatic incompetence hidden behind a quantitatively impressive bustle, covered by piles of files...abuse of procedural institutions serving the extraction of objective truth for suppressing and deafening the objective truth, and the lamenting that the documents in foreign possession have not been made available.

The capitulation to crime has a statistical reflection. According to A. Goetz as much as 83,140 people out of 90,921 accused in the trials of Nazi criminals (there were 700,000 such criminals) ended up without a guilty verdict...Polish assistance in tracking down war criminals is capped with a meaningless sentence: "since the spring of 1965 we could gain access to Polish document materials"... only this.

And yet a ministerial counsellor should know that despite a lack of diplomatic relations with the FRG (they were established as late as 1972) and despite a lack of an agreement on legal assistance between the FRG and Poland that the latter is not to blame for, Polish state bodies have relayed to law enforcement authorities in the FRG about 150,000 microfilm pictures, over 32,000 records of witnesses' testimonies and over 20,000 other evidence materials.



Legal assistance was given to prosecutors and courts in the FRG in 231 cases. In 112 cases judges from the FRG, with our consent, heard the testimony of witnesses from Poland. Poland has expressed consent to 33 on-the-spot inspections. Over 1,000 prosecutors, judges and lawyers conducted trial proceedings on Polish territory with our consent....

On many occasions we have given expression to our reservations, condemning the way Nazi criminals were tracked down and the hypocritical interpretation of factual matters, by-passing the law, looking for pretexts not to prosecute and mete out punishment. The political will not co-exist with murderers was lacking in the FRG.

The disgraceful capitulation to crime, to the "bloody judges" from the VGH, is being announced (with regret, of course). Law is helpless in the face of "objective" difficulties. At the same time though the law is perfectly suitable to grant an appropriate pension to the widow of the notorious president of the VGH, Freisler, who was killed by a bomb dropped by the allies. A pension in line with his merits for the German state.

One should both know and remember about all these things.

The statement was signed by Prof. Kazimierz Kakol, director of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi crimes in Poland--the Institute of National Remembrance.

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POLITICS

POLAND

BRIEFS

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES ZIMBABWEAN JOURNALIST--Warsaw, Oct 31--PUWP CC first secretary, president of the Council of State Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Charles Chikerema, chairman of the Journalists' Union of Zimbabwe and political commentator of THE HERALD daily and granted him an interview. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1805 GMT 31 Oct 86] /8309

ORZECZOWSKI TOURS VIENNA EXHIBITION--Vienna, Nov 3--Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski, in Vienna in connection with the opening tomorrow of the CSCE meeting, toured today the biggest in postwar history Polish exhibition in Austria titled "Poland in the Age of Jagiellons." The exhibition has been visited by over 90,000 persons since it was opened a few months ago. Minister Orzechowski also met with representatives of Polish Missions in Vienna. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2228 GMT 3 Nov 86] /8309

WALESA CHANGE OF VIEW QUESTIONED--Have PAP commentators really accused Adam Michnik, Lech Walesa, Zbigniew Bujak and Jerzy Mikewski of a change of views? That they were for U.S. sanctions a few years ago and are now against them, as Stanislaw Jalowiecki from Radio Free Europe states? TRYBUN LUDU today gives a reply to the above question in an article entitled "Lost Face." Lech Walesa and the others, the paper writes, have only changed their tactics, trying despairingly to regain any influence in society. On the other hand, they have not changed their views, as they would lose all those subsidies, payments, occasions for highly paid interviews for the Western press and radio. They would become nobodies. And, after all, they still continue to be necessary as a group whose existence and declarations can be referred to by the West. If they really changed their views they would have to publicly declare that, in their political blindness, their seeking of power at any cost, they committed an error supporting U.S. sanctions at the cost of the national interest, TRYBUNA LUDU writes. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 28 Oct 86] /8309

ORZECZOWSKI MEETS FINNISH, NORWEGIAN COUNTERPARTS--The CSCE participants are continuing their deliberations in Vienna. Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski, who is there, had meetings today with the heads of diplomacy of Finland, Paavo Vayrynen, and of Norway Knut Frydenlund. Bilateral relations between Poland and Finland were assessed positively and mutual readiness was expressed to remove the still existing difficulties in their harmonious and dynamic development. As regards Polish-Norwegian relations, it was decided to renew political dialogue and speed up the process of their normalization. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 5 Nov 86] /8309

**SCHMIDT TO MEET GIEREK IN KATOWICE**--Warsaw, 30 Oct (DPA)--Former chancellor Helmut Schmidt (SPD), who had a detailed talk with the Polish state and party leader, Wojciech Jaruzelski, in Warsaw today, is also to meet the former party leader Edward Gierek. It has emerged from those around Schmidt that the SPD politician is tomorrow to travel via the place of pilgrimage at Czestochowa to Katowice, where he is to visit Gierek at his private house. The former chancellor, who arrived in Poland on Tuesday on a 4-day private visit, had a long discussion with General Jaruzelski, whom he has not met personally before. The talk, which took place in the presence of interpreters only, was in Schmidt's view extraordinarily open and friendly. One and a half hours were set aside for the talk, but it lasted almost twice as long. Earlier Schmidt met various politicians and the primate of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Jozef Glemp. The Poles spoke very openly about the country's difficult economic situation. [Excerpts] [Hamburg DPA in German 2121 GMT 30 Oct 86] /8309

**SZALAJDA RECEIVES ITALIAN AMBASSADOR**--On 20 October Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda received Guglielmo Folchi, ambassador of the Republic of Italy, who paid a farewell visit in connection with the termination of his diplomatic mission in Poland. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 86 p 2 AU] /8309

**AMBASSADOR TO CAMBODIA NAMED**--On 16 October Jozef Kobialka, the newly appointed PPR ambassador to the People's Republic of Kampuchea, presented his credentials to Heng Samrin, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 86 p 8 AU] /8309

**AMBASSADOR TO SINGAPORE NAMED**--On 18 October Czeslaw Muszalski, PPR ambassador to Singapore, presented his credentials to Wee Kim Wee, president of the republic. After the accreditation ceremony, he was received for an audience during which prospects for the expansion of bilateral relations were discussed. Particular attention was devoted to the economic field and to increasing trade. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Oct 86 p 7 AU] /8309

**APPOINTMENT OF SIERADZ VOIVODA**--The chairman of the Council of Ministers, after consulting with the Voivodship People's Council, appointed Engineer Henryk Antosiak, MS, to the post of the Sieradz Voivoda. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Nov 86 LD] /8309

**TRADE UNION DELEGATION**--The leadership of the International Federation of Trade Unions of Power Workers headed by its chairman, Francois Duteil, was received on 23 October by Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, who informed them about the work of the OPZZ. The guests gave A. Miodowicz 3,000 Swiss francs toward the cost of building the Health Center of Polish Mothers. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Oct 86 p 2 AU] /8309

**POLISH-HUNGARIAN THEORETICAL CONFERENCE**--On 21-24 October in Mierki near Olsztyn, there was a conference of journalists from the PZPR theoretical journal NOWE DROGI and the Hungarian party journal TARSADALMI SZEMLE on the subject of the class essence of social alliances; the dialectics of accord, struggle, and reform; social rifts and conflicts and ways of overcoming them;

the process of social consultation; ideological principle-mindedness and social tolerance; the role of various forces in building national accord; and dialogue and accord between believers and nonbelievers during the construction of socialism. The conference was chaired by Stanislaw Wronski, NOWE DROGI editor in chief; and Varro Rozsa, deputy editor in chief of TARSADALMI SZEMLE. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25/26 Oct 86 p 8 AU] /8309

PZPR MOSCOW CONFERENCE--PAP Moscow--The 10th PZPR accountability and election conference of Polish institutions in the Soviet Union took place on 25 October. It was stressed during the discussion and in the resolution that the PZPR party organizations on USSR soil have well performed the tasks set by the last conference and those stemming from party resolutions and decisions. It was said that the intensification of cooperation between the PPR and USSR and coordination and full implementation of bilateral agreements, plans, and programs of cooperation should encourage a further consolidation of bilateral relations in all spheres. In the economic sphere, it should create new conditions for a further reorientation of our economy and enhancement of integration. New party authorities were elected. Jerzy Szukala was re-elected secretary of the PZPR Committee in the USSR. The conference was attended by Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the PZPR Central Committee Political-Organizational Department; and Wlodzimierz Natorf, PPR ambassador to the USSR. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Oct 86 p 7] /8309

DELEGATION RETURNS VIA MOSCOW--On its way back from the capital of Mozambique--Maputo--where it took part in the funeral of President Samora Machel, the Polish delegation, led by Kazimierz Barcikowski, stopped for a short time in Moscow. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 29 Oct 86] /8309

POLITBURO COMMUNIQUE ON NATIONAL COUNCILS--The PZPR Central Committee Politburo together with representatives of regional bodies, has considered a report on the implementation of the law regarding the system of national councils and regional self-government. It familiarized itself with the draft central plan for 1987 and the assumptions of the budget law. The course and results of the PZPR report-back and election campaign at voivodship level were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 4 Nov 86] /8309

WARSAW CONTROL COMMISSION PLENARY SESSION--The merger of the party's control and auditing bodies is not a formality, but rather is aimed primarily at increasing the quality and efficiency of their work and at closer links with party echelons and basic party organizations. This was the view expressed by the chairman of the PZPR Central Control and Audit Commission, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, at a plenary session of the PZPR's Warsaw Party and Control Commission. During the debate, the commission's tasks resulting from the documents of the 10th PZPR Congress were pointed out. A plan of work for the commission up to the end of this year and next year was adopted. The composition of control and audit problem teams and adjudicating teams of the commission was confirmed. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 31 Oct 86] /8309

SCHMIDT VISITS POLAND'S GIEREK--Warsaw, 31 Oct (DPA)--Former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt (SPD) today visited former Polish party leader Edward Gierek at his private home in Katowice. Schmidt said he wished to see again the man who was deposed in 1980 because he is convinced of Gierek's desire for reconciliation with the Germans and regards him as a friend. [Excerpt] [Hamburg DPA in German 1747 GMT 31 Oct 86] /8309



SOCIOLOGY

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**CATHOLIC BISHOPS' PASTORAL LETTER PUBLISHED**

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 24 Oct 86 pp 6-7

[Article signed "Wa.": "Between the Marxist State and Christian Faith-- A Pastoral Letter From the Catholic Bishops in the GDR." The opening paragraph is the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE introduction ]

[Text] The 11 bishops and suffragans in the GDR joined together in the Berlin Bishops Conference under the chairmanship of the Berlin bishop, Cardinal Meisner, in early September addressed a joint letter to the priests and deacons of the Catholic Church in the GDR in which they comment in detail on the topic of the "Catholic Church in the socialist state." The pastoral letter was not supposed to be read from the pulpits but was intended for the personal information of the recipient. However, it was specifically left to the discretion of the priests and deacons to draw on the content of the letter "as a basis for conversations in the groups and circles of their parish and in other church communions." In the letter of the episcopate at first the present situation of the Catholic Church in the GDR is described and then an attempt is made to draw conclusions for the pastoral work of the church. In the description of the present situation of the Catholic Church in the GDR the "substantial conflicts" arising for devout Christians in the socialist society on account of their Christian conviction are described. Bitterness and resignation are mentioned. "Some see only as the only way out to apply for an exit permit for themselves and the family." Fields mentioned as charged with conflict are especially secondary school and university education, vocational training and development, access to and work in higher management functions of the economy and administration, but also military education and military service. But the bishops also comment on the attempts to link church and Christians closer to the state, on the cooperation of Marxists and Christians. The letter states that attempts are being made to include the churches and the individual Christians in the "development and strengthening of the socialist society," in the "struggle for peace" carried on by party and state, and in "the safeguarding of social progress." But for Christians the problem is that the standard for the new society and the new man is taken from the



philosophical materialism of Marxist character, the pastoral letter states, which we publish in textual form.

Dear Brothers!

Our pastoral activity is to be directed towards preparing the faithful for a life in the spirit of the imitation of Christ. The individual Christian as well as the church as a whole are called upon to bear witness for Christ's truth before man and before the world. Even more: the church wants to imbue the world with Christ's spirit and more and more sanctify it according to God's will by the life witness of its members. Only then does the church correctly fulfill its mission when it becomes "city on the mountain" and "salt of the earth" (cf. Mt. 5, 13 f.)

To help the faithful recognize their world mission and to carry it out correctly also requires attentive observation of the social environment in which we live. Is there any opportunity to include us as Christians in the fields which are characterized by the claims of the socialist society and the ideology shaping it. Or do we as Christians for the sake of honesty have to keep away from the "world" to be able to be true to our conscience? These are questions moving quite a few of our parishioners and in final analysis also us as pastors. With this letter we would like to invite you to reflect on the pastoral problems which are connected with the existence of our church in a socialist state. Our statements are to be understood as aid to orientation for pastoral action. Please further discuss jointly the questions raised here at pastoral conferences and meetings of priests.

First we are going to take a look at the individual aspects of the social environment (I) and then try to draw conclusions for our pastoral behavior (II).

#### I. On the Present Situation of the Catholic Church in the GDR

It is hardly possible to outline the situation of our church in the GDR in a few lines. We want to be content with a few rough outlines which may draw attention to pastorally important factors.

##### 1. The Claim of the Ideology

It does not take many words to explain that our pastoral work in this country is faced with special difficulties. In addition to the pastoral problems that are present at all times there comes a challenge to the belief in God, which comes from the "secularism wave" also effective in other countries. The world and everyday life are experienced as areas of radical profanity. In the hearts of men there spreads as basic

mentality of life a practical materialism that stifles the belief in God or makes it impossible.

On the other hand, there is also the challenge which develops for the church from ideology in our society. Undoubtedly this ideology makes the pastoral work more difficult even though for some observing and alert persons it is also a reason to have a serious look at the belief in God and to seek deepened access to religious life. The pastoral problems develop from the claim of this ideology to pervade the entire social reality. For that must be clearly understood: Our church lives not only in a society shaped by secularism (as e.g., also in Western countries) but in addition in a society which according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism is to receive a new center of meaning: socialism and (later on) communism, respectively. All spheres of life are directed toward this center of meaning and are reshaped by it. It remains to be seen how far that will succeed. But we have to note that in principle the attempt is being continued to structure the secular society from an all-encompassing ideological concept on a broad level. That entails considerable consequences for all spheres of life of man: work and leisure time, family and school, science and culture, private and social life become "battlefields." In this sense the state is not only a non-normative factor of order but also an ideological factor. The socialist state requires citizens who declare themselves for it and consciously embrace social "progress."

## 2. Conflict Field Society

In our pastoral care we deal largely with people who have not experienced any social reality other than that of the socialist state with its structure of order. This applies especially to our youth and the middle-aged generation. Our faithful, like all other citizens, live in these conditions. On the one hand, they feel that in certain respects they must take the conditions in state and society into account. Sometimes they have achieved a quite considerable "private area" for their life in their profession and in public and try to maintain it. On the other hand serious conflicts arise for faithful Christians in the social field especially because of their Christian convictions which weigh on the life in family and profession and may lead to bitterness and resignation. Some see as their only way out to apply for an exit application for themselves and their families. Such areas burdened with conflict are especially secondary school and university education, respectively, vocational training, access to, or activity in, higher management functions of the economy and administration, but also in the field of military education, and military service if decisions of conscience are made which do not correspond to expectations of society.

Many faithful bravely try to assert themselves against unjustified demands of society touching on the area of conscience. Of course, others make compromises that appear dangerous to us. Others again are perplexed or drift without accounting in more detail for their attitude in state and society. Frequently it is very difficult for the pastor to give advice and concrete directions in these conflicts. Of course we have to indicate to all faithful a path by which they can live here as Christians without denying their conscience. For this purpose as in the past clear positions of our church concerning behavior incompatible with Christian faith are required. But encouragement is also necessary to overcome the spreading resignation and to be alert to opportunities to shape our social reality by the spirit of Christ.

### 3. Ideological Character of the Educational System

A not inconsiderable field of conflict for faithful Christians and their children is the area of the socialist educational system. The ideological character of the school, attendance of which is obligatory also for Christian students, is openly expressed. The inner logic of this claim is derived from the position taken in I.L.. Teaching and curricula in the schools and educational facilities are determined by Marxism-Leninism and by the framework of its values. That also applies regarding the assessment of religion and Christianity. The SED, the leading party in this state, clearly rejects religion as "wrong thinking." Religion is regarded as a "form of the wrong reflection of nature and society in human consciousness," which is "sharply in contrast with scientific consciousness" (cf. "Dialectical and Historical Materialism. Textbook for Fundamental Study of Marxism-Leninism," Berlin 1984; the following quotations are taken from this textbook.) In the ideological dispute the continuity of the Marxist-Leninist criticism of religion is fully maintained, as demonstrated by the examination of the respective textbooks. It is the task of all educational institutions to kindle this "scientific awareness" in the young people. They are to foster not only knowledge of Marxism-Leninism but also implement its inner acceptance. The 1979 education act provides the obligation for the pedagogues for the "communist education" of their students, which theoretically and practically after all also has the purpose of education to atheism.

Of course it can be observed that among some Marxist philosophers timid attempts are noticeable to advance towards a differentiated assessment of religion. Not least anthropological questions in art and literature of our country but also the growing influence of religions and churches on world events contribute to that. We should attentively follow up these attempts even though they do not have an effect that can be experienced in concrete everyday life of school and education.

#### 4. Attempt at Political Integration of Churches and Christians

The present effort in the social sphere to shelve the ideological dispute in favor of a political-moral unity of Marxists and Christians is faced with a certain tension with regard to the ideological party goals. An attempt is being made to include the churches and individual Christians in the "development and strengthening of the socialist society," in the "struggle for peace" and the "safeguarding of social progress" conducted by party and state. Therefore it is stated: "Marxist-Leninist education, criticism of religion are subordinated to the practical class struggle against the bourgeoisie, for the building of socialism and communism. Without deviating in the ideological field from the positions of scientific atheism and without making concessions to religious belief, the practical policy of the communist movement is directed towards establishment and strengthening of the close alliance of the working class with all working people, even those with religious ties" (op. cit., p 37). The cooperation of the communists with the faithful in the shaping of the developed socialist society is "a fundamental principle of the SED policy of strategic importance" (op. cit., p 413). It is not the struggle against religion that is most important but the building of the classless society. Thus we read: In contrast to bourgeois materialism and atheism, Marxism-Leninism does not teach to carry on the struggle against religion as the cause of all evil in society. The reasoning is that overcoming capitalism and the establishment of the communist social formation is the road to a humane existence without exploitation and oppression, in freedom and social justice" (op. cit., p 413 f.).

For us Christians the problem is that the standard for the new society and the new man is taken from the philosophical materialism of Marxist character. Christian and generally human values are newly defined or changed on the basis of this standard. That burdens the desired cooperation between atheists and faithful considerably, as the practice has shown. The difficulties begin where ideologically caused demands cannot be supported by Christians, as for example education of the children to hatred of the "class enemy."

Thus it happens that Christians again and again have to experience and accept discrimination in training and in professional life and disadvantages of the most varied kind, even in decisions of conscience in the field of military education and military service, respectively. Unfortunately this assertion continues to be valid, even though it may have been possible in individual cases to remedy the situation and to "explain" the discrimination by subjective behavior of individual responsible persons.

The present church policy of the party and state leadership reflects the indicated tension between ideological assessment of religion and



political treatment of the churches. Despite the independence and self-administration in the church sphere, the churches are to integrate themselves into the socially aspired general goal and to receive their right to exist therefrom. But the possibility cannot be excluded that the right to exist would be disputed to them if they should prove socially "useless" or even "harmful." Thus it is not possible to speak of a true partnership between state and church. Therefore it is understandable that the key question for the social position of Catholic and Protestant Christians apparently is not the question regarding the ideology but the one regarding the readiness to build and defend the state and the socialist society under SED leadership. That also explains the increased CDU efforts to recruit active Christian laymen and if possible also priests for political collaboration.

This trend is also evident in the recruitment for youth consecration. As part of the communist education, youth consecration constitutes a factor of the comprehensive effort to develop an atheistic life culture in the next generation. Therefore we continue to reject the youth consecration. Of course, at the moment we find that it is being interpreted as a "mere" vow to the socialist state and the ideological dimension is being played down. That strengthens the false opinion of youth consecration as a value-free civic ritual without any importance for the faith. This "obscuration" creates additional confusion among the faithful who are anyhow exposed to strong pressure in this question.

Aside from the attempt to integrate the church and the Christians in the social building process and to promote this by appropriately differentiated treatment of the churches, their officeholders, and also individual Christians, other methods of the church policy remain in force. The church will have to prepare itself for the possibility that administrative measures which constrict the church field of activity and which perhaps are also to discipline the church can never be completely excluded. That teaches us the church realism developed from long historical experience. The articles relating to the churches and religious groups of the 1949 GDR constitution and the relevant amendment of April 1968 also can illustrate that. Lately growing independence of territorial state organs comes into play, so that considerable variations of attitude in the concrete manifestations of state church policy can be found in various places.

## II. Consequences for the Pastoral Action of the Church

According to its nature and its self-image the church cannot genuinely politically react to the situation so outlined. It has to respond in a pastoral manner, which of course also includes a political dimension. The church, at the behest of its Lord, exists for people, wherever and



under whatever social conditions they may live. Under our conditions, pointing out the following factors appears to us to be especially important:

# 1. The Self-image of the Church

The church has its own self-image, its own identity. It is derived from Jesus Christ, who wants to pervade the world through His church and wants to lead it to the obedient devotion to the will of the Father. In this sanctification of the world the church is solely in the service of its Lord. It cannot and must not permit any non-divine power to assign to it its right to exist or its tasks, not even the state or a constitutional party. The church must not make the unyielding adherence to its independence negotiable even under socialist conditions. Therefore the separation of church and state has a value that can hardly be overestimated. Any impression must also be avoided that the church is in the service of the state or of a party. We know what such "hiring" of church authority can look like to foreign interest. The independence and credibility of the church could suffer the most severe damage thereby.

In this connection the special importance of the ties of our church with the worldwide Ecclesia catholica, with the Pope and the Pontifical College of the world church should be pointed out. We are not a national church but the Catholic world church in one country. In our preaching and in any self-portrayal this idea should always be discernible.

It serves the preservation of the independence and freedom of the church if the church officers desist from any political activity in the narrower sense. The ecclesiastical office has its purpose deeply in the service in the unity of people of God. The pastoral care will frequently confront the priest with different political-social behavior of the faithful or of other people. The pastor must be in the position to be available credibly and convincingly for all and also to provide them with guidance from the Gospel for their behavior in public and in the profession. We can enter the arena of sociopolitical everyday questions only "in the name of the Lord" (cf. David's behavior 1 Sam. 17,45), otherwise we will be at the mercy of foreign interests. To put it concretely: The trend pursued by the CDU and the groups close to it, to include priests, deacons, spokesmen of church bodies, directors of charitable institutions and others in party and sociopolitical work must be categorically resisted. That does not prevent the church and its representatives from trying to achieve a concrete, practical relationship to the state authority. Of course it must remain evident that the church is guided herein by its own mission and does not permit itself to be used by alien aims, e.g., aims that are propagandistic in nature. The guidelines issued by the Berlin Bishops Conference on the

relations of the church with state organs and with political and social organizations make good sense here.

### Realistic Appraisal of the Facts

We must keep in mind that our situation is not as extraordinary as we sometimes think. We learn that even by a brief glance at the situation of the church in other countries and continents. Since the days of the apostles the church has had to exist in the most varied political and cultural conditions. These conditions were not always most conducive for the imitation of Christ. Neither the fact that our Christian faith is exposed to hard testing nor the experience that from the aspect of the ruling ideology we are not numbered among the bearers of hope of social development in this state should disturb us. The instruction of Apostle Paul applies to us, too: "Do not adapt yourself to this world, but change and renew your thinking that you can examine and recognize what God's will is; what pleases Him, what is good and perfect" (Rom. 12, 2). In this sense being a Christian and alternative existence are, as at all times, two sides of the same coin.

On the other hand we should be aware that the "socialist" social order is as much under the rule of God as the "capitalist" social order or any other order in this world. We do not believe that the historical development is predetermined. The political and social realities, too, are subordinated to God's power. This aspect of faith deprives it of its quasi-religious claim. To that extent the first commandment, "Thou shalt have no other Gods besides me" has always had a political meaning, namely a meaning demythologizing the political. Thus our faith does not exclude the social facts. According to the will of God, they, too, are to be "sanctified" and pervaded from the Spirit of Christ. That also applies in a social form in which an atheistic ideology in which simultaneously with its claim to truth it raises a claim of totality for all areas of life and tries to implement it politically.

The Christian faith thus enables us to take note of the facts in state and society and to accept them as a proving ground of the imitation of Christ. We are not going to denounce our situation nor are we going to glorify it. Healthy realism will keep us from thinking that every label that has been put on also guarantees the corresponding contents. Is every victory by a sportsman in the GDR actually a victory of socialism? Is every good harvest actually solely the result of socialist production methods? We would like to say that among us, too, there is healthy joy in sports and the decent attitude of LPG members to guarantee a good harvest for the people. Our pastoral letter has the purpose to achieve a relaxed perception of reality--and that is clearly open to the Spirit of Christ. Christ and his all-embracing witness to the faith are clearly sought after in our society.

### 3. Possibilities and Limits of Social Effectiveness

The sharpened look for the facts will help in the concrete case to examine the possibilities and limits of a social engagement. Hereby one must differentiate between the church as an institution and the involvement of the individual Christian.

As far as the church as an institution is concerned, the statement of the Second Vatican Council is to be recalled: "The church (must) in no way be confused regarding its mission and competence with the political community...nor (is it) tied to any political system." (*Gaudium et spes*, No. 76). This signifies for the church and its officers: The church must remain church and must not become an extended arm of state or social interests (cf. II, 1). But on the other hand it must become evident that the church shares in the problems and concerns of the people. Therefore the church has the right and the duty to comment publicly on vital questions of the present. In word and deed it will prophetically bear witness of God's truth and His Mercy.

The possibility is also not to be excluded that a conversation could be started between state and Catholic Church on questions of common interest and for which each in his own way bears responsibility, e.g. stabilization of marriages and families, the solidarity among the generations or the assessment of unborn life up to the question of the portrayal of the church and of the Christian religion in schoolbooks and textbooks.

For the individual Christian the following is to be said: He may regard himself called upon to cooperate with differently minded persons where the welfare of the individual person, of a community or the general welfare of society is involved and where he at the same time (!) is permitted to conduct his life and action undiminished and openly according to God's demands. Our yes to the world and its demands must comprise the yes to God. Cooperation in bodies and institutions whose Marxist-ideological character is repeatedly and emphatically stressed is not possible for the Christian. That applies especially to the membership in the SED. For the Christian there must also be no "participation" as a result of the striving to hide his Christian faith or to avoid clear avowal of his own convictions. In the joint pastoral letter of the bishops on the topic of "Christian education," (1974), the following rules were established: "The Christian cannot cooperate

"--in positions and activities in which he is compelled to leave the church,

"--where consequences arise which separate him from the life of the church and of the parish,

"--where he must advocate views which are contrary to the faith and to his conscience,

"--where an activity is required that violates charity and leads to hatred of other people."

On the other hand, in the individual case it would have to be examined whether and how the involvement of the Christian in various social fields is possible and necessary. We pastors must help that Christians courageously and with self-assurance participate where their human and Christian qualities are needed. That will not always happen without stresses; but as Christians we need not and should not hide. Neighborly help, care for the sick and handicapped, effort for a good climate in the enterprise or collective, solidarity with transgressors and helpless persons, collaboration of parents in the school class or the kindergarten group, cultural or sports activity which provide happiness to others, administrative responsibility--all these are fields in which Christians can prove themselves and where they must not permit themselves to be driven out. Here we pastors must confer with the faithful how under the existing conditions the social service and the witness to the faith in the public could look. But in such concrete considerations in individual and group talks not only religious principles are to be considered but also the feeling, e.g., for taste, inner truthfulness and credibility towards the outside--and not least the concern for not providing anger or reason for an easy excuse to others in the parish for their own misguided behavior.

Early clear decisions are of greatest importance on this path. Experience teaches that they make the later course of life easier. Whoever hesitates for a long time, operates with half-decisions and makes spurious compromises is in danger before long to give in also in essential points. Moreover, an honest and open decision is recognized and respected, perhaps even secretly expected, by the nonbelieving environment.

It is a duty of all Catholic Christians to recognize and put into effect the importance of their faith and of the Gospel in acting for a just, humane and peaceful world. Wherever a Christian lives and works, something of his faith must flow into the environment. In this connection we think of concrete fields such as working morale, leisure time behavior, responsibility towards social property, protection of unborn life, fondness for children, overcoming conflict in marriage or on the job, education towards love of peace. The charity activity of the church is also acknowledged in the public as a socially important involvement. But this institutional witness must not remain the only one. Christians whose faith pervades life as a whole will act as a positive ferment in every society even in ours. That is our firm conviction. For this purpose membership in any groups, parties or



organizations is not necessary. But it is necessary that our religious conviction does not leave us at the church portal. The Christian faith, which is directed beyond this earthly world to the kingdom of God, provides us with confidence and inner calm, we could almost say: serenity. For the Christian faith does not permit itself so quickly to be embittered or to be driven into resignation. Such a faith will gain magnetism of its own because then it becomes perceptible that Christians spread a climate of peaceableness, humaneness and truthfulness. That is a Christian "world service" that can be performed by every Christian. Perhaps our society lives more by this unobtrusive activity of the Christians than we believe.

#### 4. Pastoral Assistance for the Christians in the World

An important task for us pastors will be to illuminate even more those areas of reality in which our parish members largely move from the aspect of the Gospel of Christ in the preaching and in the pastoral talk. The faithful need concrete guidelines and practical guidance to be able to fulfill their world mission in this country, too. What is involved here is not only the protection of own rights and the rejection of infringements of laws by representatives of individual state and social organizations. It is even more important to point out positive possibilities of imbuing the concrete areas of life with the Spirit of Christ. We must show to the faithful not only the dangers but also the opportunities which open up in the midst of our atheistic environment for the imitation of Christ. For example, we could show to a Christian who is engaged in a management activity that his link with his collaborators and subordinates, with people whom he encounters in the service, namely as "ye that labor and are heavy laden" has something to do with his faith. We could reveal to him that his efforts to emphasize humaneness in his area of influence, to practice solidarity or to prevent human catastrophes--that all this is charitable service from which the church of Christ lives and will live at all times. Or we could show the faithful that their good work could have something to do with the sanctification of the world where sense of responsibility and order leave something to be desired, thus with Christian hope.

Our pastoral letter is not supposed to lead the people out of the concretely experienced world for them to meet God. We must learn to equip the faithful for "everyday mysticism," which equips them for true encounter with God and religious penetration of the experienced realities in the midst of the apparently godforsaken world. That will not happen without deepening the spiritual life, without prayer, sacrifice and conscious effort, above all not without the readiness to open up to one another in the families and groups and thus to support one another. In this connection, the council documents and the documents of the Dresden Pastoral Synod which provide suggestions in this respect should again be pointed out.



## 5. Church Actions for Individuals

We bishops and priests have the task to place ourselves protectively in front of individuals who get into difficulties for reasons of conscience or because of their religious convictions. Unfortunately we continue to hear that the so-called Christian or church "tie" is regarded as an impediment to advanced education or to a leading position in profession and public life. It is primarily the task of the bishops to keep on reminding the state authorities: The Christians want to live, work, and participate here. But they do not want to submit to an ideological diktat that monopolizes them for the building of an atheistic society free of religion under the banner of socialism. As Christians we do not expect that the foundations of the house "state" in which we live are poured from Christian cement. But we expect that we, together with all other citizens, can live in this house enjoying equal rights and being respected. It is the task of the state authority to make this justified expectation into a reality that can be experienced, including in the field of public education and professional life. We bishops feel that a state concerned with the welfare of all its citizens in the long run cannot justify keeping a sizable group of the population from qualified responsibility and independent action for the common good solely because of its basic religious decision. We hope that this realization will be more widely accepted by the state in the future.

## 6. The Common Ground of All Christians

Finally we should also be aware of the importance of the common ground of all Christians. Ideologically Protestant and Catholic Christians are subjected to the same test. The differences between the Catholic and Protestant churches in tradition and theological self-image have not been completely overcome. These differences are encountered even now and once again are of current interest when the question is involved how the church has to interpret itself and what path it must follow in the faith. But since in the profession of the faith in the one Lord more connects us than separates us, the ecumenical movement between the churches, must be characterized by the spirit of mutual love and turning to this Lord in view of an atheistic ideology and the factually experienced materialism. Then we have on the spot for our parishes and families effective help, preaching the Gospel of Christ. Therefore we bishops will continue to try for an open and fraternal conversation between the churches.

Dear Brothers!

In some respect the situation of the community to which the First Epistle of St. Peter is addressed can be compared with our present situation. There the author speaks to a community which obviously lives

as a minority in an environment with a suspicious to hostile attitude towards it. There is no direct persecution, but there are harassment, trouble, and various kinds of discrimination--in private and in public. What does the author advise the Christian?

"Lead a righteous life among the heathens so that those who now slander you as evildoers come to their senses through your good deeds and praise God on the day of visitation" (1 St. Peter 2, 12). "As He, who has called you is holy, your entire life should also become holy" (1, 15). "Act like free persons but not like those who take freedom as a guise for evil but as servants of God" (2, 16). "Be always prepared to explain to everyone who asks for the hope that inspires you" (3, 15). But the author also says: "Do not permit yourself to be confused by the burning heat that has come over you for your affliction as if something unusual happens to you. Instead be glad that you share Christ's Passion, for thus you can also rejoice during the revelation of the glory of God." (4, 12).

The question is whether or not we bishops could now write such a pastoral letter to our parishes. It pays to read and study the First Epistle of St. Peter under this aspect and to let it become fruitful for our own pastoral service.

We thank you from the bottom of our heart for your loyal pastoral service. We ask God for confidence and strength for the fulfillment of our common pastoral mission and greet you linked in the love of Christ.

The Bishops of the Berlin Bishops' Conference

Goerlitz, 8 September 1986

Joachim Cardinal Meisner, bishop of Berlin, chairman of the Berlin Bishops' Conference; Gerhard Schaffran, bishop of Dresden-Meissen; Bernhard Huhn, bishop and Apostolic Administrator of Goerlitz; Heinrich Theissing, bishop and Apostolic Administrator in Schwerin; Johannes Braun, bishop and Apostolic Administrator in Magdeburg; Dr. Joachim Wanke, bishop and Apostolic Administrator in Erfurt-Meiningen; Georg Weinhold, suffragan bishop in Dresden; Theodor Hubrich, suffragan bishop in Magdeburg; Norbert Werbs, suffragan bishop in Schwerin; Wolfgang Weider, suffragan bishop in Berlin; Hans-Reinhard Koch, suffragan bishop in Erfurt.

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